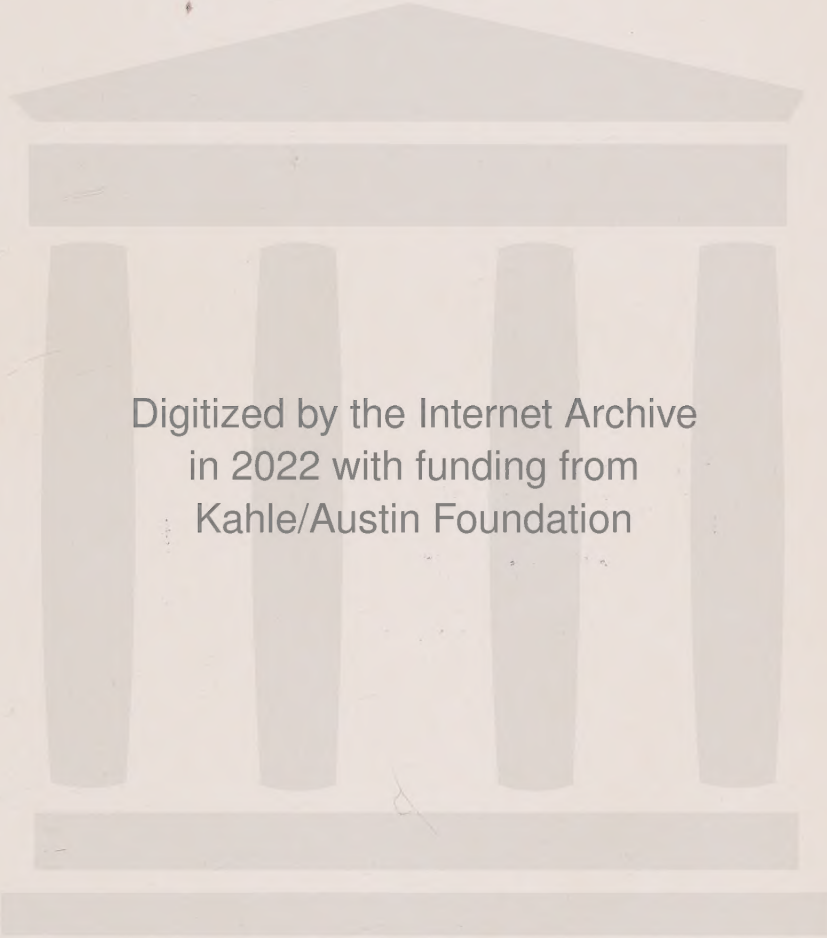


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Publications of the
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
Division of Economics and History

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

British Series

JAMES T. SHOTWELL, PH.D., LL.D.

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BRITISH ARCHIVES
AND THE
SOURCES FOR THE HISTORY
OF THE WORLD WAR

BY

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

IN the autumn of 1914, when the scientific study of the effects of war upon modern life passed suddenly from theory to history, the Division of Economics and History of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace proposed to adjust the programme of its researches to the new and altered problems which the war presented. The existing programme, which had been prepared as the result of a conference of economists held at Berne in 1911, and which dealt with the facts then at hand, had just begun to show the quality of its contributions; but for many reasons it could no longer be followed out. A plan was therefore drawn up at the request of the Director of the Division, in which it was proposed, by means of an historical survey, to attempt to measure the economic cost of the war and the displacement which it was causing in the processes of civilization. Such an 'Economic and Social History of the World War', it was felt, if undertaken by men of judicial temper and adequate training, might ultimately, by reason of its scientific obligations to truth, furnish data for the forming of sound public opinion, and thus contribute fundamentally toward the aims of an institution dedicated to the cause of international peace.

The need for such an analysis, conceived and executed in the spirit of historical research, was increasingly obvious as the war developed, releasing complex forces of national life not only for the vast process of destruction but also for the stimulation of new capacities for production. This new economic activity, which under normal conditions of peace might have been a gain to society, and the surprising capacity exhibited by the belligerent nations for enduring long and increasing loss—often while presenting the outward semblance of new prosperity—made necessary a reconsideration of the whole field of war economics. A double obligation was therefore placed upon the Division of Economics and History. It was obliged to concentrate its work upon the

problem thus presented, and to study it as a whole; in other words, to apply to it the tests and disciplines of history. Just as the war itself was a single event, though penetrating by seemingly unconnected ways to the remotest parts of the world, so the analysis of it must be developed according to a plan at once all embracing and yet adjustable to the practical limits of the available data.

During the actual progress of the war, however, the execution of this plan for a scientific and objective study of war economics proved impossible in any large and authoritative way. Incidental studies and surveys of portions of the field could be made and were made under the direction of the Division, but it was impossible to undertake a general history for obvious reasons. In the first place, an authoritative statement of the resources of belligerents bore directly on the conduct of armies in the field. The result was to remove as far as possible from scrutiny those data of the economic life of the countries at war which would ordinarily, in time of peace, be readily available for investigation. In addition to this difficulty of consulting documents, collaborators competent to deal with them were for the most part called into national service in the belligerent countries and so were unavailable for research. The plan for a war history was therefore postponed until conditions should arise which would make possible not only access to essential documents but also the co-operation of economists, historians, and men of affairs in the nations chiefly concerned, whose joint work would not be misunderstood either in purpose or in content.

Upon the termination of the war the Endowment once more took up the original plan, and it was found with but slight modification to be applicable to the situation. Work was begun in the summer and autumn of 1919. In the first place a final conference of the Advisory Board of Economists of the Division of Economics and History was held in Paris, which limited itself to planning a series of short preliminary surveys of special fields. Since, however, the purely preliminary character of such studies was further emphasized by the fact that they were

directed more especially towards those problems which were then fronting Europe as questions of urgency, it was considered best not to treat them as part of the general survey but rather as of contemporary value in the period of war settlement. It was clear that not only could no general programme be laid down *a priori* by this conference as a whole, but that a new and more highly specialized research organization than that already existing would be needed to undertake the Economic and Social History of the War, one based more upon national grounds in the first instance and less upon purely international co-operation. Until the facts of national history could be ascertained, it would be impossible to proceed with comparative analysis; and the different national histories were themselves of almost baffling intricacy and variety. Consequently the former European Committee of Research was dissolved, and in its place it was decided to erect an Editorial Board in each of the larger countries and to nominate special editors in the smaller ones, who should concentrate, for the present at least, upon their own economic and social war history.

The nomination of these boards by the General Editor was the first step taken in every country where the work has begun. And if any justification was needed for the plan of the Endowment, it at once may be found in the lists of those, distinguished in scholarship or in public affairs, who have accepted the responsibility of editorship. This responsibility is by no means light, involving, as it does, the adaptation of the general editorial plan to the varying demands of national circumstances or methods of work; and the measure of success attained is due to the generous and earnest co-operation of those in charge in each country.

Once the editorial organization was established there could be little doubt as to the first step which should be taken in each instance toward the actual preparation of the history. Without documents there can be no history. The essential records of the war, local as well as central, have therefore to be preserved and to be made available for research in so far as is compatible with public interest. But this archival task is a very great one, belonging of right to the governments and other owners of historical sources

and not to the historian or economist who proposes to use them. It is an obligation of ownership ; for all such documents are public trust. The collaborators on this section of the war history, therefore, working within their own field as researchers, could only survey the situation as they found it and report their findings in the form of guides or manuals ; and perhaps, by stimulating a comparison of methods, help to further the adoption of those found to be most practical. In every country, therefore, this was the point of departure for actual work ; although special monographs have not been written in every instance.

The first stage of the work upon the war history, dealing with little more than the externals of archives, seemed for a while to exhaust the possibilities of research. And had the plan of the history been limited to research based upon official documents, little more could have been done, for once documents have been labelled ' secret ' few government officials can be found with sufficient courage or initiative to break open the seal. Thus vast masses of source material essential for the historian were effectively placed beyond his reach, although much of it was quite harmless from any point of view. While war conditions thus continued to hamper research, and were likely to do so for many years to come, some alternative had to be found.

Fortunately such an alternative was at hand in the narrative, amply supported by documentary evidence, of those who had played some part in the conduct of affairs during the war, or who, as close observers in privileged positions, were able to record from first or at least second-hand knowledge the economic history of different phases of the great war, and of its effect upon society. Thus a series of monographs was planned consisting for the most part of unofficial yet authoritative statements, descriptive or historical, which may best be described as about half-way between memoirs and blue-books. These monographs make up the main body of the work assigned so far. They are not limited to contemporary, war-time studies ; for the economic history of the war must deal with a longer period than that of the actual fighting. It must cover the years of ' deflation ' as well, at least sufficiently

to secure some fairer measure of the economic displacement than is possible in purely contemporary judgements.

With this phase of the work, the editorial problems assumed a new aspect. The series of monographs had to be planned primarily with regard to the availability of contributors, rather than of source material as in the case of most histories ; for the contributors themselves controlled the sources. This in turn involved a new attitude towards those two ideals which historians have sought to emphasize, consistency and objectivity. In order to bring out the chief contribution of each writer it was impossible to keep within narrowly logical outlines ; facts would have to be repeated in different settings and seen from different angles, and sections included which do not lie within the strict limits of history ; and absolute objectivity could not be obtained in every part. Under the stress of controversy or apology, partial views would here and there find their expression. But these views are in some instances an intrinsic part of the history itself, contemporary measurements of facts as significant as the facts with which they deal. Moreover, the work as a whole is planned to furnish its own corrective ; and where it does not, others will.

In addition to this monographic treatment of source material, a number of studies by specialists is already in preparation, dealing with technical or limited subjects, historical or statistical. These monographs also partake to some extent of the nature of first-hand material, registering as they do the data of history close enough to the source to permit verification in ways impossible later. But they also belong to that constructive process by which history passes from analysis to synthesis. The process is a long and difficult one, however, and work upon it has only just begun. To quote an apt characterization, in the first stages of a history like this one is only 'picking cotton'. The tangled threads of events have still to be woven into the pattern of history ; and for this creative and constructive work different plans and organizations may be needed.

In a work which is the product of so complex and varied co-operation as this, it is impossible to indicate in any but

a most general way the apportionment of responsibility of editors and authors for the contents of the different monographs. For the plan of the History as a whole and its effective execution the General Editor is responsible; but the arrangement of the detailed programmes of study has been largely the work of the different Editorial Boards and divisional Editors, who have also read the manuscripts prepared under their direction. The acceptance of a monograph in this series, however, does not commit the editors to the opinions or conclusions of the authors. Like other editors, they are asked to vouch for the scientific merit, the appropriateness and usefulness of the volumes admitted to the series; but the authors are naturally free to make their individual contributions in their own way. In like manner the publication of the monographs does not commit the Endowment to agreement with any specific conclusions which may be expressed therein. The responsibility of the Endowment is to History itself—an obligation not to avoid but to secure and preserve variant narratives and points of view, in so far as they are essential for the understanding of the war as a whole.

J. T. S.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

AN elaborate Introduction to this volume would be out of place, because each chapter serves as an introduction to one aspect or another of the study of the War Records. It is desirable, however, that the reader should understand the circumstances in which the book was written and the purpose that the author had in view.

During the last ten years history has once more repeated itself. The horrors of a World War and the terror of political revolution have been followed by economic difficulties and unrest; by social demoralization and widespread distress. The immensity of the disaster that has overtaken our modern civilization justifies the earnest endeavours of the historians and economists who have resolved that the history of those times shall be faithfully recorded. The materials for much of this work are, however, in a precarious condition. The importance of documents for historical study is a commonplace of historical method; but if we may judge from earlier vicissitudes their survival can scarcely be presumed. *Si exemplum requiris, circumspice.*

The existing system of our own archives is based upon an ancient constitution and establishment which have not hitherto been materially affected by political and social reforms such as, little more than a hundred years ago, convulsed Continental Europe. The French Revolution, which fostered a monstrous militarism, also nurtured the cult of archives which became armouries of the instruments of peace. Frontiers and fortresses had been broken down when the traditions of feudalism and force were dissipated, and in the remaking of national boundaries and constitutions the value of archives was demonstrated. Thenceforth, whether these archives were nationalized, or whether they remained the property of the Crown, they were placed in the care of the State for the use and instruction of the people.

In this country the Divine Right of Kings was brought to an end by the Bill of Rights and the dominion of an aristocratic oligarchy by the Reform Bill; but these constitutional changes

did not benefit the custody and administration of the archives. Records of the parliament, council, law courts, and public offices were kept in sordid and insecure repositories till late in the reign of Queen Victoria, and some of them are still inadequately cared for. Records of the World War must now be included among the modern archives of the State, and the purpose of this volume is to indicate their relations to earlier collections, both in respect of their material condition and of their nature and use as historical sources. The immense value to the cause of civilization of the contemporary records of the British Empire, during what seemed the most critical years of its history, cannot be appreciated until they are properly cared for and made accessible to students.

The use that can be made of these records as sources for an authentic history of the World War will depend upon the ideals and demands of coming generations; yet as it is already clear that the chief interest of the present generation is not to prepare for war, but to assure the establishment of peace, the eventual study of war-time documents will be directed to some other end than military and naval strategy or diplomatic chicanery. It is not enough to know if the World War was provoked or meditated, nor how it was won and lost. For all that concerns the conduct of the War official information is largely available; but this is not the case in respect of the economic and social conditions of the belligerent nations, nor of the effects of war as revealed in post-war years. The waging of war itself and the negotiation of a peace are obvious occasions for the display of patriotism and of statesmanship and these leave their records; but the period of reconstruction that must follow furnishes the acid test of citizenship. The proofs of that test are also to be found in the War archives which, for the time being, absorbed the civil archives of the State. The historian of the World War who would know the whole truth about its causes and results will, therefore, have special need of reference to authentic documents, many of which lie outside the ordinary categories.

It might indeed be asked whether the World War is really responsible for immediate distress or for impending disaster. It might be asked, further, to what purpose shall the evidence of that responsibility be preserved by archivists and presented by

historians? For while the outward and visible signs of national demoralization may be confirmed by the testimony of archives the inevitable result may be attributed, wilfully or ignorantly, to other causes, and the labours of the archivist and historian will only be instructive to a remote posterity. It would seem that we cannot search the Records in order to discover the truth of matters that are now in question, though we are always ready to inquire of the priests of Baal.

Assuming, however, that their value and importance can be clearly shown, the Government is not forced by the pressure of public opinion to preserve and describe national records as a matter of public policy. It is generally admitted that while much has been done in later times, and more planned, to improve the state of the British Archives, their present condition is still unsatisfactory. Many important classes of documents have been neglected and maltreated, and no systematic study of their history or internal economy has been established. These facts were vouched for, more than twenty years ago, by a departmental committee, and are a commonplace of heuristic study. Ten years later, its findings were confirmed by the Royal Commission on Public Records and a new array of expert witnesses. For all practical purposes, however, modern critics or investigators have only repeated the futile protests of their predecessors in the early part of the nineteenth century, whose lamentations were compared by a contemporary antiquary to 'the impotent wailings of the Greek Chorus'.

Sunt lacrimae rerum! All these things that we deplore, like our forefathers, have happened, and may continue to happen, not because our statesmen and scholars are incompetent or careless of the national honour, but simply because they do not realize what is amiss. They do not recognize the symptoms of the malady—an insular contempt for new-fangled learning and a preference for unconventional methods of record-keeping. In this matter, as in some others, a spirit of independence and self-reliance has made the British nation a law unto itself.¹ Having no use for the art

¹ At the death of Queen Victoria the Departments of State were hard pressed to discover precedents for immediate ceremonious or constitutional action upon the demise of the Crown. The Record Officers came to their rescue; but even so the

of Continental notaries, our ancestors paid dearly for the services of native scribes, while they adopted the use of a reformed handwriting and the scientific adjustment of the Calendar in the rear of European nations. And so, to-day, the Anglo-Saxon race, once the foremost teacher of the art of writing, has still no State 'School of Charters', and ignores the 'Science' and 'Economy' which have enabled Continental nations to establish an adequate and inexpensive archive service.

It is true that even in countries where an improved system of custody prevails, it has been severely tested by the gradual accumulation of subsidiary records relating to judicial or administrative proceedings; while archivists in all countries have been overwhelmed by an accumulation of War Records. The suppression or reorganization of some of the older Government Departments, the expansion of others by sub-division, and the creation of new and independent types were official expedients of that dark hour in the world's history. The duplication of titles and functions and the endless ramifications of official organizations were partly the result of an unintelligent system; but they have nevertheless to be reckoned with by the historian of the War.¹

Reference will be found in many pages of this work to the importance of the Archives as precedents for administrative action, but the value of such precedents cannot be fully appreciated without an adequate knowledge of the institutional history of the respective Departments. Materials for the study of this long neglected subject will also be found in the following pages, and have been more systematically noted during the past thirty years in some previous essays.²

Hitherto the archivist and the historian have rarely been consulted as to the custody and disposal of current documents, though both have a reversionary interest in accruing records. Official indifference as to the care and use of records must react unfavour-

title of Queen's Counsel continued to be used for some months, while learned persons still occasionally refer to the office of Queen's Remembrancer. And so we come to the political inexactitude of the term 'Unionist' which has already been preserved for more than a year after the undoing of the Act of Union. These are trivial solecisms; but taken with many others they may seem characteristic of a contempt for the culture which is fostered by archives.

¹ Above, p. xv, and cf. Sir J. Brunner in *The Times* of 2 August 1924.

² See Appendix I.

ably upon the efficiency of the public service, and the time may come when the neglect and destruction of earlier records will be associated with an inadequate and costly method of keeping current papers the reform of which has been vainly recommended by a Royal Commission.

The problem that presented the greatest difficulties to earlier reformers was to avert the imminent danger of destruction that threatened all archives alike through the primitive and precarious conditions of their custody. To-day, the perils of natural decay or vandalism are eclipsed by those of authorized destruction and the dispersal of the records. Many references will be found in the following pages to these problems, both of which have defied solution, though both were anxiously considered in the Reports of the Royal Commission of 1910. Naturally we all deplore the fact that valuable records have been inadvertently destroyed, and we may even condemn the system which permits their destruction, forgetting the inconvenience of accumulations of 'unweeded papers'.

Haply some purist might insist that it is unsafe to destroy any early records other than duplicates; but as duplication must be established by collating the documents, and as adequate collation is impracticable, there remains only the process of selecting such as appear to be of sufficient value to justify their preservation. It is of course presumed that the process of selection will be carried out systematically by fully qualified archivists, but this is a question which has been discussed elsewhere.¹

The Report of the Royal Commission of 1910 revealed the existence of a considerable reaction against the centralization of national records, and the demand for decentralization has been further stimulated by the activities of the Local War Records Committee which are described in the present work. Not all these records may seem to be of permanent value; but as a whole they can supply information, not obtainable elsewhere, respecting the patriotic undertakings or the economic and social condition of cities, towns, and parishes in this country during the World War. Although this information may have been dupli-

¹ Below, Chaps. II, XIII, and XV.

cated or summarized in central archives, its preservation is by no means certain and, in any case, these records will not be accessible to students for some time to come.

Since the text of this volume went to press a remedy for the dispersal and expatriation of historical manuscripts in private hands has been ably discussed in the columns of *The Times*.¹ Heroic measures for the protection of our national interests being still inexpedient, it has been suggested that vendors should be liable for the cost of photographic reproductions of important documents and also for the preparation of classified sale catalogues to facilitate, respectively, researches and acquisitions by native students. It is to be feared, however, that, in the case of State Papers removed by former officials, a compromise between the prescriptive rights of the State and the claims of private owners cannot be usefully effected till the rights in question have been definitely asserted and the claims certified by registration. Then only (as in the case of Treasure Trove) can an arrangement be effected that will safeguard the public interests without inflicting hardship on impecunious inheritors or on holders for value of national treasures. Impunity will but increase our losses.

Unfortunately no authoritative conclusion has yet been reached in respect of a further danger to the integrity of the State archives which is referred to in more than one chapter of this work. The exploitation of Departmental Records with which we are now so familiar is an abuse of privilege opposed alike to democratic principles and to scientific methods of study. This is a new departure, prompted by venal or personal considerations, and though incidentally it may disclose sources as yet inaccessible, it does not ensure an authentic exposition of historical facts.

All reasonable persons are agreed that a sound knowledge of the national history is a desirable qualification for those who aspire to the administration of the Empire, if not for those by whom the administrators are elected. The agreement in question may be a tacit one, but many circumstances of the nation's life proclaim that its history is based upon the archives. For archives have always stood for the facts of History. They

¹ July and August 1924. Attention was repeatedly called to this danger by the present writer in the *Athenaeum* more than twenty years ago.

are associated with Royal Letters and Precepts, with Orders in Council and Acts of Parliament, with petitions of the Subjects and depositions of sworn witnesses in contrast with the vague statements of monkish chroniclers and other local gossips.¹

Neither do these records, as commonly supposed, present us with the 'dry bones' of History. They enable us to recreate the flesh and blood, to reconstruct the daily life and occupations of men and women who once lived in English homes and whose blood still runs in our veins. Here we may find the materials for an appreciation of the virtues of our ancestors; the mingled simplicity and shrewdness of their character; their sagacious industry and adventurous commerce; their inexhaustible charity and passionate love of justice. But the archives also record the failings of our ancestry; the luxury and ambitions of the rich, the envy and turbulence of the servile poor; the habitual cruelty, coarseness, and self-indulgence of rich and poor alike, and their appalling sufferings in body and mind from hunger, disease, and despair, the sequels to a chronic state of War. The story of this tragedy can still be read in parchment rolls which survived when the walls of palaces and castles crumbled in decay.² The records of the World War are now waiting to take their place beside these relics of the past, and it remains for the historian and the archivist to see that the lesson which they convey is not obscured. The care of these records has become a national duty and responsibility, for some day the findings of History, like the discoveries of Science, will be accepted by international agreement and a new world will be made by deeds instead of words; for we know that words are 'daughters of earth' but deeds are 'sons of Heaven'.

In the following pages the Author has attempted to emphasize some points which have been noted in the course of previous studies of the Archives. He has done so in the sincere belief that a fuller knowledge of the nature and uses of our Public and Local Records would tend to improve the methods of their custody and description. An immediate result of this improvement would

¹ For the distinction between the mere annalist and the historiographer see Stubbs, *Oxford Lectures*, and the *Monastic Chronicler* by the Rev. Prof. Claude Jenkins.

² The incidence of early famines and their causes are being investigated from authentic records by research students of the London School of Economics at the instance of Sir William Beveridge.

be to facilitate the use of authentic materials for a history of the economic and social conditions of the British Empire during the World War and the garnering of its aftermath.

This small contribution to a cause which is of common interest and moment, not only to all citizens of the Empire, but to the world at large, is based on a study of Archives extending over a period of more than forty years.¹ It must not be assumed, however, that the book is a record of official experiences or impressions, and the author must disclaim official authority for any conclusions or recommendations that are published here. It is based largely upon published sources available, though not always easily, to students of Institutional History. Specially helpful to the author have been the labours of the Public Records Commission and the interest of historical scholars who realized the disorganization of British archives. Even so, this book might not have been published now but for the encouragement and advice of the General Editor of this series who had already gained an extensive knowledge of the original sources for an Economic and Social History of the World War in the archives and libraries of Western Europe. Other influences have been felt during the progress of the work. The importance of unprinted sources for the study of economic and social history led to the establishment of teaching in the Science of Archives in the University of London many years ago, and this, in turn, to the recent foundation of an Institute of Historical Research. So history must be made by those who would make histories.

Since this work was completed the professional aspect of the Archives, so long neglected, has at last been adequately treated,² and the immediate need of historical students, who look to the Archives of the World War for their materials, is to create a public interest in the subject. Without the active support of public opinion, it is useless to expect large or permanent reforms. It is useless for a few eager scholars to prepare for an approaching millennium; for a few learned societies to demand inquiry and

¹ The writer was appointed, in 1896, Lecturer in Palaeography, Diplomatic, and Original Sources in the London School of Economics. The Readership is now held in King's College.

² By Mr. Hilary Jenkinson, in his treatise on 'Archive Administration' in this series. Reference is made elsewhere to his lectures for students of Librarianship.

reform, the need for which is not yet fully appreciated. For this reason a critical survey of the British archives in Peace and War rather than a professional handbook seemed desirable, but the publication of a work of this kind requires some courage. The literary activities of the old Record Commission of 1800-37 provoked the hostile criticism of contemporary record officers and experts, which degenerated into personal recriminations. Yet, even in those days, the adequate custody and description of the Records was common ground, and it has remained such down to our own time: and now the state of the national archives is a matter of national interest and scholarly solicitude, in which the custodians associate themselves with historical students, so far as the means placed at their disposal will permit.

The services rendered to those students by the archivists of the Record Office and British Museum are like 'apples of gold in a silver dish;' though this must not be regarded as an invidious distinction. If any opinions that have been expressed or cited in the following pages may seem to convey a reflection on departmental or local officials, it must be remembered that these remarks refer only to methods of archive-keeping and can have no personal application; and if the voice of one who has been crying in the wilderness for thirty years may sometimes sound peevish, the author would plead that it is raised in the interests of his fellow-students, which he has always regarded as more important than his own.

Mention has already been made of some inspiring elements in the conception of this work, and the author wishes to acknowledge further the frequent help that he has received from Professor Shotwell and his staff during its progress. He wishes also to join with the General Editor in acknowledging the valuable assistance of Sir Frank Baines, C.V.O., C.B., and Mr. A. L. Pitcher of H.M. Office of Works in the preparation of the plan of Central War Archives in London, and kind advice given by Professor W. Carless Davis, Dr. N. B. Dearle, Miss M. Bulkley, and Miss M. Wretts-Smith in connexion with the description of the War Records.

H. H.

August 1924.

PART I

BRITISH RECORDS OF THE WORLD WAR

SECTION I. INTRODUCTORY

CHAPTER I

THE NATURE AND SCOPE OF THE RECORDS OF THE WAR

Materials for a History of the War — Definition and Distribution of War Records — The Public Departments and National Service — Central War Departments — Local Repositories of War Records — Unofficial Documents of Public Interest — Classification of War Records — The Disposal of War Records — Surveying the War Records — Salvaging the War Records — The Value of War Records — National War Museums — Typical Exhibits — The Relations between Museums and Archives.

MATERIALS FOR A HISTORY OF THE WAR

WITH the conclusion of the World War, the task of the historians selected to compile an official record of its vicissitudes has proved to be a formidable one. In the domain of History, guarded with the precautions of modern study, there is no scope for the activities of propagandists or sensation-mongers. The authority of an official history of those times will not depend on its clever advocacy of a national cause, but on the conclusive statements that are submitted for the consideration of impartial readers. The historian must not only possess the gift of graphic and lucid exposition; he must bring to the study of the original sources the most approved methods of historical research, and this requirement implies an intimate acquaintance with the archives in which those sources, or many of them, are to be found.

The history of the tragic period through which Europe, and indeed the whole civilized world, has just been passing, is a theme

much larger than mere military narrative. Even though we may not look beyond the boundaries of national history into the distressful domain of international affairs, we have learned to think in more comprehensive terms of politics and to realize the historical qualities of economic and social forces. Perhaps the full measure of importance which attaches to the common affairs of daily life could only be revealed by some such cataclysm as the World War, disorganizing, as it did, almost every activity of civilization. In any case, it is now readily accepted that the historians who, in economic histories, deal with this displacement of normal forces, are engaged upon as genuinely historical an enterprise as those who limit their survey to politics or the narrative of military events. Yet the sources of the former enterprise are often not only more difficult of access, but also more treacherous to the uninitiated. Moreover no history of this unprecedented War would be complete unless it included all proceedings connected with the Peace and the reconstruction of our shattered State—again a matter of more than formal politics. In short, the problem of Contemporary History is as vast and intricate as the events it mirrors ; and the archival problems keep pace with the extension of the field. Some day these various aspects of national policy or activity and their far-reaching results will be examined by the historians who already stand on the threshold of the archives of the War. Even now, as they scan the prospective sources of the history of our times, an extensive vista of departmental archives comes into view.

Before the War these collections were chiefly confined to government Departments of some standing, and their extent had been reduced to very modest proportions by successive purgings. But the pre-War conditions were altered by the creation of new or auxiliary Departments, and every one of them may contain papers of great consequence to our historians. It is true that there must be many documents which in ordinary circumstances would have no special historical interest and would therefore be destroyed as a matter of routine. But those were not ordinary times, and even the humblest service to the State acquired historical significance when performed by the majority of its citizens. Service for the War thus became generalized, with the

result that an entirely new problem was presented to the archivist and historian. At first, in view of the importance of the occasion, it was even suggested that, for the time being, all the official records of the War should be preserved. These, while still intact, formed a collection which was probably unequalled in its extent and interest. But it soon became evident, both from the standpoint of administration and from that of the archivist, that the immediate and the ultimate disposal of so vast a mass of material raised a problem which could not be solved by either a policy of *laissez faire* or one of extemporized devices. In theory it seems desirable that such documents should be preserved until their full significance and usefulness can be clearly ascertained, but a certain proportion must in the nature of the case be destroyed without such full examination. In the following pages some observations have been made on the way in which this problem was met, both during the War and after.

Official archives, however, contain only a portion of the sources for the economic and social history of the War. Besides these documents, there are many records and personal papers throughout the land which would make no slight contribution to a national history of the period. Again, the archives of the War are not exclusively confined to original sources. The documents which are the basis of our History may reach the historians' hands in the convenient form of printed texts. Then there are compilations based on authentic records or on oral evidence, and there are other historical publications that are valuable for a close reasoning and sound judgement begotten of the study of History or a knowledge of affairs.

It will be evident, therefore, that the harvest of historical materials was ripening apace as the War drew towards its close and labourers were not wanting in this national service. What was chiefly needed was the authority and guidance of the State itself. The archives which seemed of small account during the turmoil of the War might be of great worth when the din of battle was stilled and the sword laid aside for the pen. It was, therefore, a matter of public interest that they should be properly accounted for.

DEFINITION AND DISTRIBUTION OF WAR RECORDS

The serious consideration of any aspect of the custody of records involves their preliminary definition. We allude familiarly to 'the War Records'; but if we were asked to define the term, it would not suffice to describe these as 'Records of the War'. Apart, however, from the motive for their compilation, the War Records cannot be easily defined in general terms, though some such definition as the following may serve our purpose. They may be regarded as 'documents or material objects, of divers kinds, which should eventually be preserved in archives or museums as the original sources for a History of the War, or for any subject of historical study dealing with the history of the nation as affected by the War'. It might be added that these documents, whether in a manuscript or printed form, may include pictures, drawings, plans, and photographs. The material objects in question may be fixed, or detached, or movable, and will include buildings, monuments, memorials, relics, insignia, munitions, &c.; but in the first place we are concerned here with documents only, especially with such as will illustrate or elucidate the economic and social conditions of the nation in war-time.¹

The problem of the distribution of War Records involves in the first instance the personal element of ownership or custody. In this connexion the War Records, like other archives, may be regarded as official and unofficial collections, with an alternative classification (of an opportunist nature) as Public, Semi-Public, and Private documents. As sub-divisions, the old proprietary titles of the Public Departments and local authorities are sufficiently comprehensive and descriptive.²

¹ See below Chaps. III and V and Appendix E.

² See Appendices B to E. Although the title of the War Records might seem to imply the existence of a continuous series of such records (including materials for the history of the Napoleonic, Crimean, and South African Wars), this, in fact, is not the case. There is no complete or separate collection of official records for any of those wars, though some attempts were made to bring together the contemporary military records for the assistance of their respective historians or bibliographers. A collection of Crimean Papers was transferred to the Public Record Office from the War Office in Pall Mall. For the Peninsular War Papers see Mr. J. W. Fortescue's remarks in *The Times* of 10 October 1918 and 12 July 1921. A much larger collection of Head-quarters Records for the South African War has been preserved in its original form. This collection was probably made for the use of the Historical Section of the General Staff. The papers relating to the smaller wars or expeditions since 1815 were discovered by the Royal Commission on Public Records (Second Report, Appx., p. 212 sq.) in the

Then there is the geographical or topographical distribution to be considered, in which the archives of the sister kingdoms (including the Principality of Wales, the Royal Duchies, and the Palatinates) are supplemented by those of the Channel Islands, the Dominions and Dependencies overseas, and the Crown Colonies. But for the United Kingdom itself the distinction between Central and Local Records is of the first importance. The Local Records most familiar to us are those in the separate custody of various local authorities; but many others are at the disposal of public offices in London as 'Branch Records'.¹ This, however, is an arbitrary and precarious arrangement which, for reasons stated below, seems to be opposed to the true principles both of archive economy and public administration.² In any case it has been generally condemned by expert opinion, which favours the supervision of all local records of a public nature by the Public Record Office.

The enumeration of the War Records must precede any attempt in the direction of a detailed classification, but this necessarily implies some reference to the bodies whose administrative functions included various activities in the national service, which are duly recorded in the departmental records. Here we have to distinguish between the pre-War and the post-War Departments in respect both of the nature and the disposal of their archives.

THE PUBLIC DEPARTMENTS AND NATIONAL SERVICE

We are apt to forget that the ancient Departments of the State have passed through a process of evolution, during which each has had occasion to discharge several important functions in the nation's service, and these are duly set forth in the departmental records. Official records of the social and economic significance of earlier wars were already preserved in the archives of the Home Office, Foreign Office, Colonial Office, India Office, custody of the former Military Secretary's Department of the War Office. They should have been transferred to the Public Record Office.

¹ This, as we shall see elsewhere, has proved very prejudicial to the interests of historians and antiquaries. The local custodians are naturally conservative, but they are compelled by pressure from head-quarters to destroy the greater part of their records.

² The records in departmental branch offices are both insecure and inaccessible to students; see below, p. 27 sq.

and of several obsolete and minor Departments.¹ During the World War most of the existing Departments readily adapted themselves to fulfil the new conditions of national service imposed upon them by the urgent requirements of the national safety. These Secretariats, Boards, and Permanent Commissions had been chiefly occupied hitherto with the ordinary affairs of State relating to domestic and foreign policy, colonial and local self-government, industry and commerce, public accounts and revenue, works and services of public utility; but promptly and efficiently they grappled with strange and gigantic tasks, diverting their energies into new channels by the creation of sub-departments or branches, and adopting, each of them, a whole brood of Royal Commissions and Departmental Committees appointed to make special inquiries, or to carry out special requirements of the State militant.² In a few cases, however, the pre-War Departments were not thus extensively equipped for new official duties, and in a few more cases they were absorbed by other bodies set up during the War.

It will be seen from the appended tables of War Departments or Committees in relation to pre-War bodies³ that although the latter easily adapted themselves to the conditions of a state of war, the sub-departments created by them for this purpose were generally so highly specialized as to constitute new departments rather than branch offices. A similar change took place in the constitution of Royal Commissions or Departmental Committees which, once purely advisory bodies, merely presenting Reports, became, in time of war, administrative bodies often exercising important political and quasi-judicial functions. In such cases the Report, if presented at all, is of a formal nature and the material records are departmental. The importance of preserving copies of these Reports, together with the more important subsidiary records, will be mentioned elsewhere.⁴

¹ For the economic and social interest of these and other public offices in connexion with national service during the World War see Chap. IV. An outline of the subject was given by the writer in a public lecture at the London School of Economics in October 1914 and in a Paper read before the Conference on Local War Records at King's College, London, in January 1920.

² Notably those of an economic or social nature.

³ Appendix B.

⁴ Both Royal Commissions and Departmental Committees have been defined and appreciated, for the first time, by the Public Records Commission (1914 Report, p. 35 and Appx. (II), pp. 267 and 283; 1919 Report, Appx. (II), p. 62). The value of their War Records is referred to elsewhere (p. 37 and Appx. E).

It is only necessary to make a brief mention of the activities of Courts of Justice and Statutory Registries, which are distinguished from the Public Departments by their detachment from political events. Apart from the fact that the economic and social condition of the country is reflected, as usual, in their records, the proceedings of these public authorities were only directly concerned with the War in the case of the adjudication of prizes ; though more than one of the registries undertook important duties arising from the War.

CENTRAL WAR DEPARTMENTS

The new Departments set up during the War were ostensibly of a temporary character. For the most part they were concerned, as supplementary or auxiliary authorities, with naval or military matters ; in other cases they made some special provision for the safety of the State. Like the older Departments they were capable of considerable expansion or reorganization, and like these too they were responsible for numerous sub-departments or branches. Naturally, the abolition or devolution of these War Departments is of interest to historical students, since the disposal of the records must be affected thereby. Reference will be made to this subject elsewhere ; but we may note, in passing, that they have been largely utilized for the work of national reconstruction ; while the problems of the Peace settlement were chiefly dealt with by the pre-War Departments. The constitution of this departmental hierarchy is, however, a matter of less importance for our present purpose than the distribution of the archives under its control ; for it will be evident that during the progress of the War, and even since the Armistice and the Peace, these departmental records may be regarded as records of the War in its absorbing interest.

It will be evident, also, that the War Records referred to here are preserved in the central archives of the State ;¹ but these are not the only War Records that are known to us ; nor are they the only records of the Great War that can be of interest to ourselves and our descendants. This fact is established by the details of the distribution of Local Records given below,² from

¹ See below, Chap. IV and Appendices A and B.

² See below, Chaps. V and IX and Appendix E.

which it will be seen that the War Records have a common character with whatever branch of the national service they were concerned or in whatever custody they are now preserved.

LOCAL REPOSITORIES OF WAR RECORDS

From the briefest survey of the distribution of the Departmental archives it may be inferred that besides a vast mass of documents preserved in central archives there are many other records of local branches and local committees or sub-committees which, strictly speaking, are under the control and at the disposal of central Departments or Committees. With these we may include the records of local courts of justice, so far as they concern the History of the War. At the same time it is not easy to determine whether these delegated records should be regarded as pertaining to central or to local archives for the purpose of their description and production to students. Legally, they are the property of central authorities; but the latter have usually found it convenient to disclaim responsibility for their permanent preservation, while they have done little or nothing to make them known or accessible to students. In theory they follow the procedure of the central archives; but, in practice, the only records that are not destroyed after a certain interval are those of a judicial or statutory nature.¹

The position of various Boards or Committees which have been set up as well as administered by local authorities is also sometimes difficult to determine. Perhaps these and the records of local courts of justice may be regarded as being in the custody of local authorities by devolution. We are on firmer ground when we come to the muniments and administrative records in local custody. These are the Local Records proper, as they existed before the War, and to a certain extent they have continued in use during the War.

For the most part these important collections are in the possession of various local authorities, civil and ecclesiastical, and they are chiefly of a public nature. Nearly allied to these

¹ e.g. the records preserved in Probate Registries and District Registries of Births, &c. The national importance of these records was authoritatively and lucidly stated by Mr. Sidney Webb for the information of the Royal Commission on Public Records (vol. iii, pt. 3, p. 10 sq.). The use made of these records by Mr. and Mrs. Webb in their great work on English Local Government is referred to elsewhere.

local records are the documents in the custody of various statutory authorities and of the committees set up by the Government or by local authorities to deal with certain matters of urgent national concern.

UNOFFICIAL DOCUMENTS OF PUBLIC INTEREST

Another related group of documents is associated with Public Institutions of which the best known to us are Libraries and Museums. Here again, the documents are chiefly of early date and academic interest; but many local institutions have made useful collections of stray documents for the period of the War, and these may be supplemented by official documents which have been acquired by purchase or bequest. But besides these literary institutions, the muniments or proceedings of other corporate bodies are deserving of notice. They include the Professional and Trading Corporations or Associations,¹ Medical, Scientific, Industrial, Financial, Commercial, Provident, Charitable, and Religious, together with certain service organizations and various undertakings of public utility. The records of this group could furnish information of great interest and importance, and, in one instance at least,² a very large collection of War Records has been preserved and arranged for future reference. Finally, there is an infinite number of official papers in the possession of voluntary organizations and private individuals or business firms to be reckoned with: for here will be found many official or semi-official records which, through a lax system of departmental custody and an abuse of official privileges, have been deflected from the national archives.³ Besides official documents, private collections have preserved an immense number of personal papers, distributed in many hands. These will naturally be of a very miscellaneous nature; but their value, for certain purposes, has been clearly demonstrated by competent historians,⁴ and some further reference will be made to the subject below.⁵

¹ The political activities of some of these bodies will obviously increase the eventual value of their permanent archives.

² The British Red Cross Society which has employed an expert archivist for several years in the arrangement and description of its archives, which cover the whole area of the War. The archives of the Young Men's Christian Association are also referred to in p. 119.

³ Including the records of all naval or military depots and units which should have been accounted for under the Public Record Office Acts or the King's Regulations.

⁴ Sir C. Oman in *Wellington's Army*, p. 2 sq.

⁵ p. 113 sq. and Appx. B.

CLASSIFICATION OF WAR RECORDS

We have seen that it is a comparatively easy task to enumerate the various public offices which were concerned with or nearly affected by the conduct of the War ; but that it is less easy to describe and distinguish the functions of their numerous metropolitan branches. In the case of those that are situated in the provinces this difficulty is increased by a lack of works of reference.¹

Even before the War, official Directories and local Bibliographies only supplied occasional notices of local archives, and the returns printed by the Local Records Committee of 1899-1901 were not more helpful. Since the War, the Directories have given even less information than before ; though apparently economy of space was not the cause of the omission. Many pages are devoted to unscholarly descriptions of local institutions and tedious statements of official establishments, omitting those of constitutional or economic interest. For example, neither ancient authorities nor trusts, which are the custodians of valuable historical records, nor modern administrative bodies, which have been busily accumulating War Records, are consistently mentioned in these perfunctory compilations.²

It remains, then, to sort out these documentary sources ; but this is a somewhat delicate as well as a difficult operation. To begin with, no scientific or even scholarly attempt has been made to deal with the documents for the purpose of ascertaining and describing their various natures and their several uses. We have a classification of the official records which is both arbitrary and incomplete, for it is based on the overlapping and interchangeable custody of the old courts and departments of State, while it has not attempted to co-ordinate the records, as now preserved, with the vast number of official documents that have found their way

¹ The Reports of the Royal Commission on Public Records (especially the Second and Third Reports, Appendices) will be of considerable assistance to the student for this purpose, and they have been supplemented and revised in the *Repertory of British Archives*, edited by the writer for the Royal Historical Society (1920). The curious ramifications of the War Departments are described with further details in Chaps. IV and V of this work. See also Appendices A to E.

² It is true that several useful Directories of Local Authorities, &c., were issued before the War ; but the best of these have not been continued, and the substitutes are not satisfactory, while the List of Stationery Office Publications does not include documents printed by departmental presses.

from time to time into other collections. We have no classification whatever of our local records, and the remaining original sources available have not been classified or co-ordinated with related archives.¹

It will be obvious that a nation that has not troubled to evolve an intelligent classification of its own War Records will not have a very exact knowledge of their relationship and value. Nor is much light to be thrown upon this problem by past experience, for it cannot be said that we have an adequate description of the records of earlier wars preserved in our national archives. A few historians have made good use of the various classes of documents ; but the result of their learned labours will not be helpful for the present purpose. Indeed, it is well known that the later State papers and Departmental Records essential for the understanding of war-time policies or economic conditions have not yet been completely or adequately catalogued. Much has been done in the way of identification and description of these modern records by the Royal Commission appointed in 1910 ; ² but a great deal more remains to be accomplished before all the original sources for the History of the War can be co-ordinated with the general series for preservation in the archives.

In the first place, therefore, we may take it that it is essential to know what official documents exist, before they can be properly examined and utilized. In the second place, we must know how these records are distributed, and how far they are available for reference. Again, it would seem very desirable that some decision should be arrived at with regard to the general scope of the collection ; that is to say, what type or classes of documents are to be admitted and what are to be excluded ?

Another point to be decided is the period of time covered by the collection. Finally, are we to depend on the existing contents of the War Archives ; or are we to attempt to reconstruct those archives and to trace such missing documents as may still be identified ?

¹ This omission will be to some extent made good by the Reports of the Local Records Committee organized by the Carnegie Endowment for the Economic and Social History of the World War (1921-2). A valuable List of Local War Records, which was prepared for this Committee under the supervision of Professor H. W. C. Davis, has been summarized in Chap. V and Appendix E of this work.

² Second Report, Appendix III, No. 77, and *passim*.

This is the real crux of the matter. The archives of the World War, in almost infinite extent and variety, may be regarded as the lineal successors of the War archives of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries ; but where are those earlier archives now ?

THE DISPOSAL OF WAR RECORDS

We have learnt, for the first time, from the amazing revelations of a recent Blue Book ¹ that a very large proportion of these pre-War collections is no longer in official custody. For the manner of their disappearance, reference may be made to another chapter of this work.² For the moment it will suffice to say that the destruction wrought by the natural enemies of archives (and equally of libraries and museums), namely fire, water, dirt, vermin, thieves, and 'collectors', has apparently been far exceeded by the deliberate destruction carried out by their custodians on various pretexts.

Of these the most convincing is the positive necessity for conserving space, and thereby labour and other incidental charges of the custody of archives. A further reason, which would be more properly advanced by historians than by archivists, is based on the increasing difficulty of dealing with accumulations of historical materials. That this official policy may have a direct bearing on the permanent security of the records which must be the ultimate authority for any serious history of the War has been clearly indicated by the Reports of the Royal Commission on Public Records.³ Finally many official documents have been removed from Public Departments at one time or another, and are now regarded as the private property of those persons who have inherited or otherwise acquired them.

In connexion with the disposal of Local War Records, it may perhaps be impracticable to find permanent accommodation for extensive collections of documents of a public nature, even where these may illustrate the administrative as well as the economic and social history of the War. The business of the local courts may reflect the effects of the War in the shape of convictions, orders, bankruptcies, and inquests ; but information of this kind

¹ Second Report of Royal Commission on Public Records (1914), pp. 67-72.

² Chap. II (cf. Chaps. V and X).

³ Especially the First and Second Reports (1912 and 1914).

can be supplied by printed statistics. Of far greater interest and value are the records of the local statutory authorities; the various Committees dealing with Distress, Pensions, Agriculture, Food, Savings, and other matters of national concern. Here, again, the relative value of the individual collections is, to a large extent, an unknown quantity. Again, we may surmise that the inclusion in archives or museums of derelict local records appears to afford the only hope of their permanent preservation.

SURVEYING THE WAR RECORDS

It would be possible, no doubt, to compile a complete and detailed inventory of the surviving War Records of a public nature under each of the above headings; but such a survey could only be effected by an official agency, and the returns could not be relied upon, owing to the inexperience or indifference of many of the local custodians. An investigation upon the methodical and comprehensive plan adopted by the Royal Commission of 1910 would prove both slow and costly, and a Parliamentary Return, like those procured in 1800 and 1837, would be less effective than an inquiry by a Royal Commission. Information as to the contents of semi-public or private collections could also probably be obtained by means of appeals through the public press, and many details have doubtless already come into the hands of the authorities of the Imperial War Museum and of the Local War Records Committee appointed at a Conference summoned by the British Academy in September 1920.¹

But even the authority of an official inquiry, backed by the power of the press, cannot make a royal road to knowledge. Students of the History of the War are not yet entrusted with a key to the house of the War Archives, though a good deal of information as to the nature and use of those archives can be obtained through a careful study of their environment. We have already seen that in theory the records of the World War are the lineal successors of the records of many earlier wars. Their prototypes are to be found in documentary forms older than the new standing army and trade boards of the Restoration; these are supplemented by the myriad forms of official documents

¹ For the proceedings of this Committee see Chap. V and Appendix E.

engendered by the necessities of a World War. The difficulty is to appreciate the official significance of these records and to co-ordinate their multifarious contents: for after all, the perusal of a file or dossier of modern official papers is a dreary task, and an official letter book is even less attractive. It may also be suggested that these departmental records are valuable for their incidental elucidation of the departmental procedure, and in this aspect would certainly repay our careful study; but adequate materials for the purpose must be provided for our use. In the first place, an authoritative history of the constitution and establishment of public offices during the War is indispensable; and it would seem that this work must wait for the publication of the official histories that are in course of preparation by the War departments themselves.

At the same time such information as may be obtained from printed sources is likely to be disconnected, and further information must be obtained from the official records which provide sufficient evidence of the functions of the various Departments. It is at least certain that the student of the History of the World War will have occasion to consult the records of civil as well as of naval and military authorities; for these departmental records hang together in a chain,¹ some links of which were forged in medieval times.

SALVAGING THE WAR RECORDS

It is now generally admitted that lists of all the records of the earlier Departments of State ought to be available in print, and for most of those that have been transferred to the Public Record Office a list of some kind does in fact exist. It has even been suggested that if these records had been properly listed, their nature and value might have been more clearly recognized, and the destruction of a very large proportion of them at a later date might have been averted.² Unfortunately there is no assurance that the War Records in the custody of the Departments since August 1914 have been adequately listed. This operation implies the preparation of a 'Summary List', enumerating and describing every file or volume, with an introductory notice of

¹ They are actually indicated by this symbol in old tables of official precedence.

² Reports of Royal Commission on Public Records, *passim*.

the origin and use of the collection ; and such a list could have been prepared at a very inconsiderable cost under competent advice and supervision. There is reason to believe that in most cases the records were registered, and that indexes of names and subjects were made on cards. Probably, too, descriptive lists were made of certain collections or classes with a view to facilitate their disposal if not their use ; and if the above surmises are correct, such lists would be of the utmost value for determining the nature of the records that existed at a certain date for the several departments—records, be it understood, of their respective activities in the national service.

Now this omission is of very serious import. We have already seen that the nature and uses of the War Records cannot be discussed without reference to the constitution and functions of the War Departments, which are still a subject of controversy. Indeed, an obvious difficulty occurs in respect of the official relations which existed between the several departments themselves.

Without attempting to discuss the vexed question of the overlapping and duplication of their functions, we can scarcely feel surprised that the Committee appointed to inquire into the organization and staffing of Government Offices (1918)¹ was frankly mystified as to the exact lines of demarcation between the members of a group of departments associated with the Foreign Office for the supervision of British trade, with a view to intercepting or hampering that of the enemy. In addition to new and extensive branches of the Foreign Office, to a closely allied Ministry of Blockade, and to certain branches which seem to have established themselves, in course of time, as independent departments, there were various Royal Commissions and Departmental Committees engaged in work of national importance and organized on similar lines. In this particular instance the titles of the subordinate departments are certainly suggestive of excessive sub-division and consequent duplication or overlapping of functions.² Other symptoms of extravagance were seen in the employment of inordinate staffs and in allowances for overtime and for personal assistants, with like enormities. But it is

¹ Third Report (Cd. 9220, 1918).

² See Appendix B.

noticeable that the Committee was not merely unfavourably impressed by a confused official nomenclature; its conclusions were apparently based upon an actual investigation of the departmental archives, with regard to which it reports that the registries were scattered, with unnecessary branch or sub-registries, and a general lack of system or co-ordination. This the Committee regarded as due to over-specialization, with the inevitable result of the multiplication of records.

Whatever view we may take of the conclusions and recommendations of this Committee, it will be evident that the real character of departmental work can only be ascertained from an examination of departmental records. Is it not, therefore, obvious that these grave charges (which gave some support to the clamorous impeachment of the whole departmental system by a section of the press) must also be decided from the evidence of the same records? Without begging the question, it may perhaps be added that the matter cannot rest where it does; for we may have to wait another century for the historian's verdict, and in the meantime what will be the fate of those records?

Indeed the elucidation of departmental administration is not the ultimate object of the preservation of the War Records. After many years they will possess a wider interest, and it is here that the archivist can protect the reversionary interest of the historian.¹

THE VALUE OF WAR RECORDS

It has often been pointed out that the clerk who makes and uses an official record should never have a voice in its eventual disposal. He is apt to magnify its immediate importance and to disregard the possibility of its usefulness to later students: in short, he is only concerned with its official and not with its historical aspect. His clients are officials who would use a record as an authority or as a justification for certain action, and politicians or publicists who would use it as a precedent or as a *pièce de conviction*. On the other hand, the professional archivist views these documents dispassionately in a truer perspective and

¹ Since this was written, a charge of suppressing official documents, in order to evade inquiry that might prove unfavourable to the Department, has been brought against the Ministry of Munitions and dismissed as unproven.

with a finer sense of proportion, and it is his mission to smooth the path of the student and to mark out a road for the future historian.

To a trained observer, the historical view of this Great War must be tremendously impressive ; whether it recalls the spectacle of a gigantic struggle which has left the combatants maimed and exhausted, or whether it reveals a gathering storm that threatens to wreck the fabric of a common civilization. The political aspect of every period of our History is attractive by reason of its dramatic interest, for it includes the stirring incidents of naval and military action and the secret intrigues of diplomats and politicians ; but it is not more fascinating and certainly not more instructive than a survey of our social conditions and of our economic or scientific progress. These and other aspects of the War provide us with an almost unlimited number of subjects of interest, and at the same time they recall many incidents that are still obscure and many problems that will not be easily solved.

The mere enumeration of these subjects would occupy much space, yet it is a task that might be profitably carried out under the supervision of a committee of historians. Such a committee, moreover, could be counted upon to supply a different valuation of the various materials than that which depends upon a more or less formal use of the documents for administrative purposes. At the same time, it must be obvious that its accomplishment would be useless unless effectual measures were taken to collect and preserve the War Records for the historian's use.

Perhaps we are unable to realize the importance of this essential method of historical study because the authorities who are concerned respectively with the disposal of the War Records are not apparently in touch with one another. We have a Board of Education ; but it is not charged with the care of archives, like the foreign ministries of Public Instruction and Fine Arts. As far as our Public Records are concerned, the functions of such a ministry have been exercised to some extent by the Office of Works and the Stationery Office, and in respect of the War Records the Imperial War Museum has played a helpful and

scholarly part.¹ Hitherto there has been no effectual means of collecting and preserving the judicial records and State Papers which remain outside the restricted jurisdiction of the Public Record Office. We should also find ² that there has been, for the last fifty years or more, an official tendency to attach very slight importance to the Departmental Records, generally on the ground that their subject matter is of temporary official interest, and therefore of relatively slight importance. This view is not taken by other nations (including our own Dominions), which have regarded the care of the records of the Great War as a matter of national concern.

Finally, the nature of these Records and their distribution are still to a great extent unknown to us ; but if the World War of 1914-18 is still, and if it must remain, during this generation at least, a matter of deep concern to ourselves, in common with other nations, does it not follow that a full knowledge of all its circumstances is of importance, not only for our national credit, but even for our national safety ? By an adequate method of research we could know the truth about many things that are now obscure or doubtful ; but unless all the material information is available, our darkness will not be lightened.

NATIONAL WAR MUSEUMS

Fortunately the preservation and arrangement of the material objects that constitute another category of War Records ³ have been already taken in hand with zeal and intelligence, and thanks to the patriotic and enlightened enterprise of a few statesmen, historians, and antiquaries,⁴ we possess in the Imperial War Museum at least the nucleus of a collection of original sources.⁵

¹ The Historical Section of the Committee of Imperial Defence or of the War Cabinet has acted in this matter chiefly as a collecting bureau and editorial board.

² Below, pp. 136 sq. and 199 sq.

³ See above, p. 6.

⁴ e. g. Sir Alfred Mond, and Lord Onslow ; Sir Martin Conway, and Sir Charles Oman. The above and other matters connected with the collection and disposal of the War Records are fully discussed in the Report of the Royal Commission on Public Records of their proceedings in connexion with the description and consideration of those records for the information of a Committee appointed by the War Cabinet. (Third Report, Appx. V.)

⁵ It is in itself an interesting circumstance that although, as we have seen, no collections of documentary sources for the history of earlier wars have been available, a War Museum has been established for some years past, on a modest scale, in connexion with the United Service Institution. The Imperial War Museum is still in the making, but it is already of service to historical study. An admirable summary of its

The daily history of the War can be visualized from the exhibits that form the main feature of the Museum, while the problems connected with its vicissitudes can only be adequately studied from the original records preserved in the national archives. In short, the records will form the text of the History of the War, and the contents of the Museum will serve as illustrations to this text.

It will appear from the above statement that the purpose of a National War Museum is definite, though its functions will be exercised at the discretion of the authorities concerned: that is to say, the proposed Museum may include all the available exhibits which illustrate a war, or only such as come readily to hand. In the former case a scientific and comprehensive plan of operations will be necessary; but in any case it is important that all the materials that exist for a permanent commemoration and adequate history of the War should be carefully noted.¹ This can only be effected by means of a survey in which the knowledge of official experts and the co-operation of local antiquaries and historians have been utilized. At the same time some definite provision should be made to recover documents or relics that have strayed from official custody. Moreover, the respective spheres of influence of the imperial and local authorities should be carefully ascertained, to avoid the risk of a disastrous competition.

These are operations that require both knowledge and tact, for even the most persuasive methods of official enterprise will avail little without an exact knowledge of the materials that may be found in sundry places. Finally it is very desirable, in this connexion, that the national character and patriotic objects of the proposed collection should be widely known and appreciated. These things may be taken for granted in high places, but they should be emphasized for the benefit of smaller folk.

origin and functions is given in an address on 'The Scope of the Imperial War Museum', by the Director General, Sir Martin Conway, M.P., printed in the *Museum's Journal*, vol. xx, pp. 17-28, for August 1920. For Miss A. E. Conway's monograph on the section illustrating Women's War work see below, p. 121.

¹ The section descriptive of Women's Work during the War is remarkably complete and will prove valuable for historical reference. A full catalogue has been compiled by the Hon. Secretary, Miss A. E. Conway, whose activities in this direction have been unceasing, like those of the librarian, Mr. A. F. Sieveking.

TYPICAL EXHIBITS

In the matter of the contents of a War Museum which claims to be of national or permanent importance, there is already a wealth of exhibits in hand, and others are in view. Whether such a museum should include exhibits illustrative of the economic and social conditions, and of the War history and literature of allied or hostile states, is an academic problem that need not be discussed here. That there are objects of common interest cannot be doubted. On the other hand, it would be impossible to bring together in any one place a complete collection of universal exhibits, and a perfunctory selection would have little scientific value. When the belligerent nations have completed their individual national collections, printed catalogues can be readily used by students. In the meantime the respective National Museums might include a foreign section for the display of miscellaneous trophies or relics that have come to hand.

The normal exhibits¹ in a National War Museum would comprise material objects, including models and reproductions, some of which will have a sentimental as well as a didactic value. These exhibits, like the others, must illustrate the Economic and Social History of the World War as well as naval and military dispositions. Closely related to these are certain types of documentary exhibits such as plans, drawings, portraits, and other delineations of the incidents, conditions, or figures of the War. A third class of exhibits will comprise the documents; and these again may be sub-divided as printed and unprinted materials.²

It should be remembered, however, that a sharp distinction between printed and unprinted documents is not always possible or desirable. The fact that a certain document has been printed, while others of a like nature remain unprinted, is largely due to accident or caprice, as well as to our haphazard method of issuing historical publications. Many important series of manuscripts have been published piecemeal; others have been kept unpublished. In these circumstances we cannot regard the original

¹ Those referred to in the following lines must, of course, be regarded only as types. The position of the Imperial War Museum is now precarious.

² It will appear from the official catalogue that besides pictures, drawings, photographs and, possibly, cinema films, the contents of the Imperial War Museum include stamps, paper-money, and medals. The Air Service and special branches, such as the Medical Service, are adequately represented.

manuscripts and the partial reproductions thereof as entirely independent sources. In fact the necessity of co-ordinating the printed and unpublished sources has been tardily acknowledged, and this method has formed a noticeable feature of the best historical bibliographies in recent years. How far it is necessary to preserve copies of every type of historical literature relating to the War, for the supposed benefit of posterity, is a question that may yet have to be decided.

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN MUSEUMS AND ARCHIVES

The possibility of a conflict of interests between the War Archives and the War Museum is suggested by the Reports of the Royal Commission on Public Records.¹ It is the official practice in this and other countries for the papers of the various Government Departments to be periodically transferred to the central archives as they mature. Here they form part of a permanent series which becomes accessible to students in due course, and it will be evident that to divert any considerable portion of these records to a new repository, or to a special collection, where they would be less accessible for purposes of reference, might prove a real hardship to students.

The fact that the War Records are as yet imperfectly arranged and described, does not affect the position, for whether documents are deposited in Archives or in Museums, they must be properly listed or catalogued in order to facilitate authorized researches.

It is evident, therefore, that Archives and Museums have a common interest in the collection of Records; but besides the question of accessibility for students, there is the far more important question of permanent preservation. In this matter the Museum may play the part of a careful foster-mother; in any case, documents will not be collected there with a view to their destruction. It would certainly be useless to spend time and money upon their collection if they are not destined to reach the hands of future historians.

The above estimate of the extent and value of the British War Records and of the literature relating to them can only be

¹ Especially the 1914 Report, pp. 61-6, and 1919 Report, pp. 38-9.

regarded as partial and provisional. It will, however, suggest that ample materials existed, at one time or another, for an adequate national history of the World War, and it will also remind us that other nations have preserved their War Records for this purpose. We have seen that the position of the British War Records is a matter of some anxiety, though at the same time it is admitted that they would be of inestimable value for the purpose of such a history. If we allow these materials to be dispersed, the work can never be accomplished; an unworthy version of our part in the World War will be produced to the amazement and anger of our children; and the historian will never be able adequately to serve the cause of peace by establishing the extent of the calamity of the War to the generation which endured it.

CHAPTER II

THE DISPOSAL OF WAR RECORDS

Origin and Abuse of the Existing Procedure — The Fate of Earlier War Records — Causes of the Disappearance of War Records — The 'Weeding' of Official Papers — Official Distinction between Current and Disused Papers — Defects in the Organization of War Archives — The Need for Cautious Methods of Disposal — The Royal Commission and the War Records — The Conference on Local War Records — Suggestions for the Disposal of War Records.

THE War has left to the historians of belligerent nations a considerable but somewhat embarrassing legacy of Records. With the conclusion of the Armistice and the Peace, and with the development of long-prepared plans of national and international reconstruction and reform, a further bequest has been notified; but the precise nature and value of these documentary trusts cannot be ascertained by the beneficiaries. The process of settling the family affairs of the European nations has been protracted by a conflict of reactionary ambitions and impracticable ideals in which the authority of laws and the covenant of records have been equally repudiated. In the course of these recriminations and excesses the individual nations have made no serious preparations for safeguarding the title-deeds of their inheritance in the 'New World' that has emerged from the ruins of the Old.

ORIGIN AND ABUSE OF THE EXISTING PROCEDURE

The results of this neglect will be found in the following pages; but first it is desirable to expound the heading of this chapter.

The 'disposal' of records may be regarded as the antithesis of their collection; the negation of their custody. The term implies the authorized destruction by some official agency of records which the vicissitudes of the State have spared. In fact it signifies that from time to time custodians of records, finding themselves unable to deal with accumulations due to special causes, have devised means of ridding themselves of a portion of their charge.

Again, we may note that the term is of comparatively modern use, for in the mid-Victorian period this process was bluntly called 'destruction'.¹ Apparently the change of name was meant to suggest the 'sweet reasonableness' of the new age which substituted a judicial process for irresponsible action. Thus from 1856 to 1876 unwanted records were just 'destroyed'; and following the Public Record Office Act of 1877, valueless records have been 'disposed of' by destruction, though in a few cases they have been presented to Colonial Governments or provincial institutions.²

Mention has been made elsewhere³ of the disturbance and congestion of the archives, caused by the Crimean War, which first introduced this destructive habit. Hitherto, though the records might be left to perish from neglect, none but anarchists or fanatics⁴ had dared to lay sacrilegious hands upon them; but war has no respect for constitutional forms. There were many citizens to whom the World War offered opportunities for deserving well of their country by means of spectacular activities in the by-ways of national service. To these protagonists the latest War device served at once as a banner and a weapon with which the idols of our civilization were sought out and hewn in pieces; for among the most glaring superstitions of the War period was the cult of the War Archives in the face of a serious shortage of paper for the supply of the War press.⁵

The story of the ill-advised and not always disinterested solicitation of central and local authorities in charge of official documents, with the object of procuring the sale of old 'records' and 'papers', cannot be told here. The fact that such proceedings were unconstitutional was apparently of little moment; but on economic grounds alone the project was unjustified. If an exact return could be made of these transactions, the moral loss to the community would not be balanced by the cash receipts from

¹ Deputy Keeper's Reports 23 to 27, Index, s.v. 'Destruction'.

² As to such deposits, as an alternative to destruction, see below, p. 229. The Record Commissioners of 1910 were inclined to view with favour the effect of such transmissions in connexion with the study of original documents in the History Schools of provincial Universities.

³ pp. 27, 228.

⁴ The insurgent villeins in 1381 and the 'Hot Gospellers' of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

⁵ See above, p. 14 sq., and below, p. 187 sq.

enterprising purveyors and their conscious or unconscious touts. During the last years of the War an astonishing number of this tribe appeared upon the scene and busied themselves with 'smelling out' old records with the zeal of Zulu witch-doctors; but the extent of our losses in this direction is only beginning to be revealed by newspaper reports, and the subject is one that might well engage the attention of learned societies.

The unfortunate experience of British archivists in this matter was shared by their French colleagues. The Director General of the Archives Nationales relates in his Report for 1918 that among the busybodies who pestered local authorities to dispose of old papers was a self-styled 'Adjudicataire des Archives publiques'.¹

Unfortunately, in its purely commercial aspect this evil is of old standing. The tailors and toy-makers who 'resorted' to outlying archives in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for a supply of parchment² were succeeded by still more resourceful traders who found that old title-deeds, autographs, and 'State Papers' were more profitable as 'antiques' than as materials for drums and battle-dores.³ From time to time during the War the passer-by might have seen outside some Government Department a van which displayed the following plausible advertisement:

THOUSANDS OF POUNDS WASTED DAILY!

SAVE YOUR WASTE PAPERS!

From a business point of view this advice was perhaps justified, for 'golden' waste, in the shape of official papers, seems to have been realized by Government contractors or their discerning customers.⁴

The disposal of the War Records naturally depends on their

¹ *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* (1917), pp. 247-53. Fortunately for themselves the French had a better way than ours of dealing with these officious patriots.

² *Archæologia Cantiana*, i. 53-4. This was at Dover Castle. The tailors referred to are described as 'ladies' tailors' who used the parchment for stiffening lapels of coats. The Royal Commission of 1910 actually received an anxious inquiry from a firm of ladies' tailors as to their intended proceedings in connexion with the disposal of local records.

³ The writer has seen a toy drum, bought a few years ago at a bazaar, made of parchment cut from an old judicial record written in court hand.

⁴ The Royal Commission of 1910 ascertained that large profits have been made by the clandestine purchase of superfluous official documents. (1912 Report, Appx. (II), p. 51.)

administrative relations and use, and it raises the question of official responsibility for their preservation. It is obvious that if there were no administrative departments there could be no records, and the fact that there is a continuous departmental procedure of one sort or another since the thirteenth century, illustrated by a great variety of surviving records, reminds us that we cannot consider the question of the disposal of those records on its merits without an exact knowledge of the nature and use of the records themselves.

THE FATE OF EARLIER WAR RECORDS

It may seem premature to discuss the sources of History that is still in the making, but the researches with which we are here concerned will elucidate the most momentous crisis of our national life. Whether it is possible for contemporary history to be written by an adequate method of research is a question on which different opinions will always be expressed. It might well be argued that we cannot know every side of some incident of international consequence without examining the archives of all the States concerned. Yet, even if the historian is content to wait until the archives are open, it does not follow that his researches can even then prove exhaustive. Some documents will have been officially suppressed; others will remain sealed for an indefinite period; a certain proportion will have perished from various causes or passed into private hands; finally, particular documents may be unarranged or misplaced and therefore not available for inspection. Casualties such as these are a common experience to all researchers, and our historians will be wise if they take the earliest opportunity of collecting the materials for a history of their own time.

In fact, students of the later Georgian period who apply themselves to researches, in more recent archives, when these are made accessible, will deal with an unknown quantity. An impenetrable veil of official secrecy has shrouded the archives of the Victorian period; but from certain indications that are now available it must be feared that the student of naval and military affairs, with their economic and social implications during that period, must be prepared for a dearth of the materials which

exist in infinite number and variety for an earlier period. Although these nineteenth century archives have remained undescribed and practically unused, they have been seriously depleted through unintelligent or neglectful custody. An untold number of official documents of historical value have gradually perished or have been wilfully destroyed, while others have been appropriated by private individuals. From the year 1815 onwards the track marked out for the historian in the State archives is almost obliterated, and he sees before him a wide expanse of desert, broken here and there by oases of private hospitality.¹

It is a serious though very common error to assume that any reference to naval or military records connotes the history of naval and military affairs alone. A closer study and a wider knowledge of the Archives would show us that, from the thirteenth century onwards, those records will afford copious and valuable information concerning the economic and social conditions of the period. Even the administrative activities of the medieval Chancery, Exchequer, and Wardrobe in war-time supply abundant materials for an economic and social history, and the proportion of economic and social materials is greatly increased in the case of the Naval and Military archives of a later period.

There are good reasons for believing that those archives were preserved almost intact down to the middle of the nineteenth century. Some of the records were stored in the cellars and attics of the War Office and Admiralty departments. Others had been removed to the Tower of London from Deptford Dockyard; but soon after the passing of the Public Record Office Act extensive transfers began to be made to the new repository in Fetter Lane. More records were preserved in various metropolitan or provincial depots. Here many interesting collections had accumulated since the Restoration, and some of them were found in the same position by the Public Record Commission immediately before the War. In addition to these fortunate survivals, a large mass of departmental papers had been admitted to the sanctuary of the State Paper Office among records of the Secretaries of State for Home and Colonial affairs, whose departments were formerly concerned with military and naval affairs. The result of this

¹ 1912 Report, pp. 15-20; 1914 Report, pp. 67-72.

casual distribution of the Service records was an increased pressure on the central archives following the reorganizations of the Admiralty and War Office from 1832 to 1855. The pressure was relieved by the crude expedient of destroying old records to make room for new ones. The first organized destruction was effected between 1859 and 1865 by a departmental committee, the members of which do not appear to have possessed any real qualifications for such a task.¹ The records destroyed were measured, sometimes by the ton, sometimes by the cubic yard, and they were always counted by the thousand. From first to last, more than half of the whole collection must have been disposed of in these and subsequent operations. Naturally, the documents in most frequent use, and therefore bound or filed for convenience of reference, had the best chance of escaping this fate. Of the rest, some were unbound and unsorted, and all were unclean and undescribed; incidentally, therefore, their destruction saved further trouble. In some cases, moreover, only a respite was granted to documents of obvious value, for it was suggested later that similar information could be obtained elsewhere, and their fate was sealed.² In several cases the disposal of the records cannot even be traced; they have simply disappeared as though the earth had swallowed them.³

The prospect of a like treatment of the archives of the World War invites our serious attention. Many new subjects of historical interest can now be recognized as a result of the extensive activities of the State. New Departments, without precedent in the conservative establishment of the Civil List, have been created. Royal Commissions and departmental committees by the score have been appointed to deal with fresh developments, and special collections of official papers have resulted. Some of these, as we have seen, will be of permanent value for the Economic and Social History of the War, even if they are not useful to its official historians. Must we again wait, for seventy years, till another Royal Commission tells us that the records have been arranged without uniformity of plan by unskilled clerks, or that

¹ 1912 Report, p. 15, and Appendix, Part II, p. 32. For further references to the operations of this Committee see below, pp. 227-30.

² *Ibid.*, p. 17.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 38-40.

they were destroyed at the suggestion of an economist panting for promotion ?

It would seem that the old official habit of effecting paltry savings at the expense of literature and art is still uncured, perhaps because it is incurable. Most of us are now familiar with the official pose ; a fine contempt of everything old and musty ; an exaggerated regard for the latest contrivances for saving trouble. In the midst of much public waste and some private extravagance the national museums and archives were to be mainly closed—the most pitiful economy ever effected by a great nation.¹ The strong remonstrance of a few eminent scholars led to a slight modification of a thoughtless measure in striking contrast with the sturdy patriotism of French scholarship and even with the resolute purpose of German culture.²

The plain truth is that in these economies we see another instance of the indifference of the Departments to historical learning, already manifested in the case of their own records. For the most part, official procedure is sustained by precedents derived from current official papers or printed minutes. During its brief life in lobby shelves or presses, a current departmental paper is fairly secure, except from fire or water ; but, if an early precedent is in question—a treaty paper, the title-deeds to Crown lands or merely the right of some veteran to his reward for service—there can be no certainty of its being produced from an incoherent mass of ‘weeded’ papers.

That such a state of things is discreditable to us as a nation can scarcely be denied, and sooner or later some drastic remedy will be enforced by public opinion. Meanwhile the danger is increasing ; records are still mishandled or destroyed, and a vast mass of departmental papers is being dealt with by officials who are unversed in the science and economy of archives as they are practised on the Continent. An approved and uniform system of dealing with the national archives would therefore be helpful to officials as well as to historical students.

¹ Sir A. Conan Doyle in *The Times*, 6 February 1917. The Official Report of the Trustees of the British Museum shows that in 1914 the number of visitors was 814,517, including 62,725 on Sundays. The Museum was closed from March 1916 to September 1918, and for two years more on Sundays.

² Information from Paris and Berlin during the War seemed to indicate that the archives would remain open as long as archivists were available.

CAUSES OF THE DISAPPEARANCE OF WAR RECORDS

Much light is thrown upon the causes of these regrettable incidents by the Reports of the recent Royal Commission on Public Records.¹ From these and from the ingenuous admissions contained in the Reports of earlier Deputy Keepers of the Public Records² it is clear that the improper official destruction of War Records in the Victorian period was due, in the first place, to the lack of any regular system of transferring the older records to the Public Record Office, and secondly to the failure of the Departments to appreciate the value of their records for historical as well as for official purposes.

Although it was officially understood that all War Office Records previous to the year 1870 had been transferred to the Record Office, the Royal Commission of 1910 discovered many thousands of records still outstanding, ranging in date from the reign of Charles II to that of Queen Victoria. We also read in an Appendix to their Report that no military dispatches of later date than the battle of Waterloo were to be found amongst the War Office documents at the Record Office. The War Office explained that previous to 1855 these dispatches were mixed up with the records of other Secretaries of State. From 1842 onwards a more or less complete series was discovered in the War Office. Elsewhere we come across other important series which had not been transferred to the Record Office. Besides the above, which had been apparently overlooked, an immense quantity of early departmental, regimental, and garrison records were located and inspected by the Commission. These records were not destined for transmission to the Record Office; their existence was probably unknown to any but a few storekeepers or staff clerks, and their position was evidently one of some peril. For example, the Commissioners found at Portsmouth many Ordnance Records going back to the seventeenth century; but at Plymouth the companion series of records had been 'quite recently . . . destroyed by a Board of Officers acting under the King's Regulations'.

The transfer of the Admiralty records to the Record Office

¹ 1912, 1914, and 1919 Reports under the headings 'Destruction and Disposal of Official Documents' and 'Transmission of Records'.

² Especially from 1845 to 1861.

began as early as 1840, and from a list of these, published in 1904, students might have expected to find all the historical naval documents, down to 1860, in the charge of the Master of the Rolls. The investigations of the Commission show that valuable records, dating from the Restoration, had been retained in the Admiralty or its departments; while thousands more lay unheeded and uncared for in the dockyards.

It is true that a similar state of things prevailed in respect of the records of other Departments; but stress must be laid upon the case of the War Office and Admiralty Records, not only because of their strategical value, but because (as we have seen) these Departments take charge in war time of certain aspects of the nation's economic and social welfare. In time of war and during peace negotiations, many special types of judicial and administrative records are created over and above the normal forms. The proceedings of the Prize Courts are not only of great moment to the parties but create invaluable precedents which can be used in building up a general code of international law.¹ The activities of courts martial are also greatly increased; and, again, much importance must be attached to the details of transport and supply, communications, and other matters on which the solution of problems of reconstruction may largely depend. We are reminded by the Report of the Royal Commission that naval and military affairs, like other aspects of the national history, must be based on complete and permanent records which can be cited for the verification of all important statements. Such is the method of writers like Sir John Laughton and Sir Julian Corbett, of Mr. John Fortescue and Sir Charles Oman. Future historians who follow in their footsteps will be seriously hindered if material records are mislaid or rashly destroyed.

Again, the records of our public offices are frequently sacrificed for want of space, due to neglect of systematic transfer or weeding. There is a persistent tradition in official circles that whenever a Department removes to a new office a bonfire is lighted in the back yard of its former premises. That such a legend is not wholly fanciful is shown by the fate of many of the records of the

¹ Since this was written the Permanent Court of International Justice has justified its institution by its proceedings in the matter of the Kiel Canal.

Judge-Advocate-General. We know that in the confusion that prevailed during the Crimean War large masses of Ordnance records were suddenly shifted from their repositories and received inadequate accommodation elsewhere.¹

The Reports of the Royal Commission of 1910 do not attempt to estimate the possible losses that have been sustained through the reckless or unintelligent destruction of official documents, but the instances given in the Appendices to these Reports are sufficiently impressive. To some extent, indeed, the need for further precaution is admitted by the Departments concerned. There is every reason to believe that the Act of 1877 has done good service in staying the ruthless destruction of official documents, but it would be rash to say that all peril is past. In the case of the naval and military records still retained by various units, there is, we know, an authority which overrides the Act of Parliament, namely the King's Regulations, which authorize the destruction of old Service records after examination by a board of officers. Before the War British officers were, as a rule, quite aware of the value and interest of the Service records, but from time to time an iconoclast would take command and make a clean sweep of disused documents.

THE ' WEEDING ' OF OFFICIAL PAPERS

The dissatisfaction expressed by the Public Records Commission in its First Report with regard to the disposal of valueless records is chiefly directed against the extensive depletion of the naval and military records some fifteen or twenty years ago. In their Second Report the Commissioners examined more closely the system of ' weeding ' departmental records under the authority of the Acts of 1877 and 1898, and they deprecated the policy of giving a free hand to civil servants in ridding themselves of inconvenient accumulations of old records. The Commissioners point out that, even when the statutory procedure has been strictly observed, the ' Schedules ' may be prepared and executed by officials who have received no general historical training, and who may not therefore be competent to determine the value of particular records.

¹ p. 27.

An illuminating instance of the danger that is incurred in the absence of a definite archive policy and expert supervision is found in the official 'Notes for Guidance in Weeding War Office Papers'¹ exhibited to the Royal Commission in 1911.² This departmental print shows unmistakably that the records were regarded from the official, and not from the historical point of view, and justifies the presumption that they were not weeded by persons competent to express an opinion as to their historical value. Indeed, the reference in this official print to the historical aspect of the records is significant; for in No. 6 of these 'Notes' we read that 'In the *rare case* of papers containing matter of historical, legal or antiquarian importance (such as dispatches, biographical details, &c.) the file should be brought to the notice of the Assistant Principal. The Record Office take over and preserve all such papers if 25 years old'.

It is only fair to observe that these directions for 'weeding' War Office papers have the advantage of being precise and permanent; for in some cases the procedure is less formal, and also less definite. At the same time an approved system of 'weeding' is useless unless it is carried out by a properly trained staff, since the selection of documents that may be valuable as official precedents or as historical sources depends almost entirely on the judgement of the person employed for that purpose. Hitherto, the selection has been made by officials with an imperfect knowledge of the requirements of historians and antiquaries, as well as of the development and relations of our institutions. It has been assumed that the work of selection will be performed by competent persons; but no standard of competence was discovered by the Royal Commission of 1910.

OFFICIAL DISTINCTION BETWEEN CURRENT AND DISUSED PAPERS

Even before the War the officials of the various public departments were inclined to be sceptical as to the value of the records

¹ 1914 Report, Part II, p. 277.

² *Ibid.* It should be observed that the Royal Commission received great assistance from the central Registry of the War Office which had begun shortly before the War to overhaul the provincial archives of the Department. This work has been earnestly resumed since the Peace. The Royal Commission also warmly praised the organization of more than one of the subsidiary War Registries in the Metropolis, notably those connected with 'Military Intelligence'.

in their custody for any but official purposes. Small attention was given to their scientific description or classification, or to their future usefulness as materials for the history of any aspect of the national life. It is true that the treatment of the records during what might, perhaps, be called the larval period of their existence varied in different cases. In some Departments they were treated with great care and skill for the purpose in view. They were systematically registered, clad in neat 'jackets', with serviceable docquets, and passed from hand to hand with every appliance to facilitate their use or reference. In other cases they were less carefully handled, and the tell-tale 'charges' still remaining in the 'dead' files show that many papers have been removed or misplaced.

In most cases, also, the question of space had to be considered, and in some offices the fate of nearly every paper was decided as soon as it had been registered, regardless of its individual character.

This indeed is the crux of the whole matter. If after its short official 'life' the record could be deposited in some secure custody, it would be available in due course for skilful treatment at the hands of the archivist. At this, the chrysalis stage of its existence, it would be decided if it should be preserved or destroyed. In the former case, it would forthwith be properly classified and described, and could thus become readily available for the use of students or professional searchers. In the latter case, specimens only of each class of documents would be preserved to illustrate the descriptions given in the official 'Schedules' and to preserve materials for reconstructing the departmental history.

Abroad, documents are normally treated on these lines, in local as well as in central archives. Even the Ministries regard their modern papers as potential archives. At the same time a distinction has been made between the functions of a clerk who is charged with the duty of registering, arranging, docketing, issuing, and replacing modern papers required for official reference, and those of an archivist whose business it is to preserve, produce, and describe the earlier papers for the use of students.

The opposite position was taken up by the Departments whose records were inspected by the Royal Commission of 1910.

In their view the existing staff dealt with the papers to the best advantage of the public service. Even the older papers (where such existed) might be safely preserved by the same agency, and more than this was held to be unnecessary. The answer to this argument would be that these official requirements are admittedly of a temporary nature and that the official view is a purely personal one. In fact it ignores the possible requirements of the State itself and also of the historians of these times. Moreover, many of the Departments were found by the Commission to be unfamiliar with the use of their earlier records, the arrangement of these, together with any necessary searches, being undertaken by the Public Record Office.

DEFECTS IN THE ORGANIZATION OF WAR ARCHIVES

Such was the attitude of the Departments immediately before the War. During the actual progress of the War a reconsideration of their policy was difficult for obvious reasons ; but steps could have been taken for scheduling and co-ordinating all the War Records as they accrued ; for supplying deficiencies in the series, and for preparing a precise summary of the various departmental activities.¹ Unfortunately these essential measures do not seem to have been adopted by the Departments themselves or to have been pressed upon their attention by the Government or by public opinion.

Official papers were in constant use in several hundred departmental Registries organized according to different systems devised by civil servants or business men unskilled in the care of Archives. In some cases these Registries became rapidly disorganized, and a subsequent reorganization became necessary. This was, perhaps, inevitable in view of their inadequate equipment, and though in many cases the eventual organization was admirably efficient no provision was made for the ultimate disposal of these departmental records as part and parcel of the Archives of the World War.

After the Armistice, the only remedy that could be suggested

¹ In a few cases brief but useful summaries have been compiled for the assistance of the Record Officers who drafted Schedules of War Records submitted to Parliament with a view to destruction. More detailed official memoranda prepared for the use of the Government have been referred to elsewhere (p. 40).

for the congestion of these imperfectly organized archives was the wholesale destruction of War Records after a more or less perfunctory examination; but if the Public Record Commissioners' recommendations had been complied with, apart from an immense saving of public money and great advantage to the national service, the requirements of historians could have been satisfied.¹ In the first place, the internal organization of the departmental Registries would have been co-ordinated under expert advice and supervision. Secondly, this skilled headquarters staff would have made provision for the gradual and practically automatic weeding of the papers, those of permanent value being put away in a central repository where they could have been arranged and classified in relation to pre-existing and accruing records.

It is beside the mark to object that the preoccupations of the War made any such careful dispositions impracticable, and that Arts like Laws must be sacrificed in time of war. The whole question is really one of efficiency, and the ill-effects of an inefficient archive system had been demonstrated before the War. Even during the War attention was called to the importance of the matter² without result, though the criticisms of archivists were borne out by the independent inquiries of an official Committee, referred to in the preceding chapter.³

The existence of certain defects in the administration of the departmental Registries during the War is suggested by the belated issue (in 1919) of an official handbook for the information of paper-keepers.⁴ This valuable work at least demonstrates the feasibility of a uniform system of registration; but its most noticeable feature is a section setting forth the duties and responsibilities of the Registries in connexion with the Public Record Office Acts. Its main defect consists in its use of permissive rather than injunctive formulas, and the general assumption that

¹ 1914 Report, pp. 85-8 and Appx. (II), p. 307 sq.

² *Edinburgh Review*, Oct. 1914; *Contemporary Review*, May 1916, June 1918, Oct. 1919; *Quarterly Review*, April 1917.

³ Above, p. 15.

⁴ 'Notes for the Use of Registry Branches' (1919). These were prepared under the supervision of the Treasury, whose own Registry has preserved a series of official papers dating from the sixteenth century which rank next to the State Papers as sources for the internal affairs of Great Britain.

prominence should be given to departmental minutes rather than to the original texts and series of documents on file.

THE NEED FOR CAUTIOUS METHODS OF DISPOSAL

The moral of the whole business seems to be that there must be uniformity of practice and conformity with the Public Record Office Acts on the part of all the Departments. Up to a certain age official papers may be handled in whatever way appears to be most desirable ; but the untrained clerk must not decide what papers are unworthy of preservation as historical sources. After a certain age-limit is reached, official documents should be handled by archivists only. Either archivists must be put in charge of the ' dead papers ' in every Department, or these records must be periodically removed to a central or to an intermediate repository.

The constitutional importance of the Royal Commissions appointed by the Crown, of the Select Committees appointed by Parliament, and even of Departmental Committees concerned with certain subjects of inquiry is well-known ; and the permanent records of their activities have been referred to elsewhere.¹

It will be evident from a glance at the titles of the War Departments referred to in a later chapter ² that the disposal of the Reports or subsidiary archives of these temporary Commissions is a matter that closely affects the interests of historical students. Information respecting the nature and use of the records, their extent, and ultimate disposal has been supplied for the first time in the Reports of the Public Records Commission,³ and some further observations on the last of the above aspects of the documents may be ventured here.

In justification of the disposal of the greater portion of our modern official documents it is alleged that the substance of the more important documents has been published, either in Reports or Returns to Parliament or in Departmental prints. The inference is that such publication dispenses with the necessity for the preservation of the original document. This suggestion has been frequently made, but it cannot be accepted without some qualifications.

¹ p. 67 sq.

² Chap. IV.

³ See the references given in *Repertory of British Archives*, p. 172.

In these days historical and economic scholars are accustomed to find ready to their hands exhaustive and instructive statistics compiled by Departments of State from the twelfth century onwards, dealing with many aspects of the national finance, revenue, and trade as well as with various evidences of the constitutional and social progress of the country. In later years such returns have been frequently printed by order of Parliament or occasionally published by private enterprise; but no complete or systematic method of producing these essential precedents has been devised by any Government of this country though Governments have been frequently incited thereto by thoughtful publicists since the bringing in of the Reform Bill.¹ Competent specialists have been retained for this purpose in modern times, and 'Statistical Departments' abound; but the want of ministerial direction and the zeal of the Treasury and Stationery Office for economy would be evident in a Bibliography of British Records in Peace and War.

It is certainly a fact that many Blue Books issued during the last twenty or thirty years contain convenient and adequate summaries of official documents. The difficulty is to know what classes of documents are covered by such publications and how far they are exhaustive, for the Civil Service clerk (unlike the archivist) makes no note of such matters; nor is the compiler of such summaries always qualified in respect of historical or economic knowledge. A further question arises as to the permanent preservation and production of such prints in the event of their official substitution for the MS. documents, and even as to their durability in view of the deterioration of modern paper and ink.²

With regard to departmental prints which are not published, it is often assumed that copies will be filed in the Departmental Archives; but experience might not confirm that view. Whether they are confidential or not, such prints are frequently regarded as being of a semi-official nature and are only preserved by the

¹ A recent instance will be found in the letter of Mr. Geoffrey Drage to *The Times* of 26 July 1921.

² The evidence of the Deputy Keeper was very unfavourable to the official arrangements in this respect. 1912 Report, Appx., Pt. III. Q. 533. On the other hand, many printed proceedings have been preserved, instead of manuscript judicial records, between 1865 and 1880.

officials concerned. Moreover, the system of filing and regulating the printed issues at the Stationery Office was found by the Royal Commission of 1910 to be inadequate for supplying the requirements of historians ; while there are other sources of production not under the control of that Department.¹

We need at least a complete series of the printed Reports of Royal Commissions and Departmental or other Committees appointed during the War, and as many sets as possible should be placed in the principal libraries. This precaution is essential, and should be taken at once.² In fact, a large proportion of the series is probably now out of print and practically unobtainable. Besides the Printed Reports, many others will have been presented in a typed form owing to the exigencies of the War. But it has been suggested, on good authority, that the bare Reports of these Commissions or Committees are not sufficient as permanent records, and that at least the Minutes and a selection of original materials should be preserved.³

THE ROYAL COMMISSION AND THE WAR RECORDS

There seems to be, as yet, no settled policy or approved method in respect of the preservation and disposal of the War Records, although the question is an urgent one. As such it has received the special attention of the Royal Commission on Public Records which presented an important series of recommendations on the subject, and which was consulted officially as to the distribution of the documents.⁴

The Commission was appointed to inquire into some notorious deficiencies of the antiquated archive service of the Departments of State. It was finally suppressed on the ground of national economy, at a time when most of the War Departments were engaged, at a vastly greater expense, in compiling histories of their individual activities. As to these, the Secretary to the Commission observes that ' the very considerable outlay that will be incurred in carrying out these desultory enterprises by various methods, with unequal results, might have been turned to better

¹ 1914 Report, Appx., Pt. II, pp. 304-5, and below, Appx. H.

² It has been seen that the activities of the War Museum in this direction have been valuable.

³ 1914 Report, p. 35.

⁴ See below, p. 237 and Appx. I.

account by the organization of a central machinery for this purpose, after the War, on the lines of the *Victoria County Histories* and the *Dictionary of National Biography*.¹

The supplementary Report by the Public Records Commission on the War Records which is appended to its Third Report dealing with Local Records was originally prepared for the information of a Committee appointed by the War Cabinet. The investigations of the Commissioners began at a date (March 1917) when the Emergency Departments called into existence by the War had probably attained their greatest extent of development and before they had reached the limits of their capacity for the storage of records. As yet practically nothing had been destroyed, and the Commissioners were able to obtain some valuable information about the condition of the archives and the relative value of the records.

The activities of the Commission in connexion with the War Records included inspections of the archives of the chief Departments concerned with the conduct of the War, and a conference and correspondence with the Office of Works and the Imperial War Museum. The report of the inspections referred to is a document of much interest and importance. As a result of a necessarily brief investigation, the Commissioners arrived at the definite conclusion that there was urgent need for preserving the War Records and for providing adequate accommodation for them. In their opinion, a Repository for this purpose ought to be administered as a branch of the Public Record Office, and it should be equipped with the improved appliances found in the modern Continental archives. The Commissioners also considered that this new 'State Paper Office' should be reserved for modern departmental documents, preferably since the death of Queen Victoria, and that it should be adjacent to the Imperial War Museum.

The conclusions and recommendations of the Commissioners

¹ 1919 Report, Appx. (V), p. 123. Some departments continued to be engaged on this work for more than two years after the War. It is quite certain that the future historian of the War will not accept the conclusions of any official historiographers in the place of departmental records. At the same time these departmental compilations, especially when drafted or supervised by a trained historian or economist, must be of great assistance for the study of the theory or practice of national service during the War. As to their accessibility to students see below, p. 287 sq.

on the subject of this disposal of the War Records were incorporated with their Final Report, signed by them in April 1918. The presentation of this Report, however, was suspended until the close of the following year, and in the meantime the work of destruction had begun in connexion with the activities of propagandists concerned with increasing the supply of paper. As a result, however, of the warnings of the Commission, the Local Authorities were notified as to the requirements of the Public Record Act of 1877.¹

The Record Commission of 1910, unlike that appointed in 1800, possessed no administrative powers in respect of the Public Records, these being exclusively exercised by the Master of the Rolls. Thus the only means available to the Commissioners for intimating their view of the gravity of the situation, pending the issue of their deferred Report, was to address the Home Office on the subject. This was their last official act; but between the signing of the Report in April 1918 and its issue in November 1919 the Secretary of the Commission was consulted by the Office of Works as to the details of an official scheme for the disposal of the War Records on the lines of the Recommendations communicated to that Department by the Commissioners.

These proceedings are only partially recorded in the Third Report of the Commission; but its recommendation for the erection of a modern State Paper Office was subordinated to the requirements of a National War Museum and, for financial reasons alone, this scheme proved impracticable.

As matters stand, the Recommendations of the Commission on this subject appear to have been practically ignored, and the old policy of drifting has been resumed. It would appear that no permanent provision has been made for the contents of the War Archives nor for those of the War Museum, but official information on the subject is not available.² The ultimate destination of the

¹ By circular letter from the Local Government Board in 1917, in consultation with the Public Record Office.

² It is well known, of course, that the Imperial War Museum was eventually housed in the Crystal Palace, leased for the purpose (*Museums Journal*, xx (1920)). It also appears, from the proceedings of Parliament, that a vast quantity of War Records has been officially destroyed. The residue has been presumably stored in temporary repositories. Apparently, Cambridge Gaol has been utilized for this purpose and also for storing some of the less important contents of the Public Record Office which (as in 1856) has been indirectly affected by the accumulation of departmental War Records.

War Records, their distribution and description, and the facilities that will be given for access to them have not yet been revealed to historical researchers.

THE CONFERENCE ON LOCAL WAR RECORDS

This absence of official information was very evident on the occasion of the Conference (30 September 1920), convened by the British Academy at the instance of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, to consider the position of the Local War Records. In fact, the discussion of the disposal of these records turned upon the means that existed for locating them and for ascertaining their nature and use. In this connexion it was represented to the Conference that the preparation of an adequate description of the documents in the shape of an official list must be regarded as a necessary preliminary to their disposal, since very little evidence as to the extent or value of the records was available, apart from that collected by the Royal Commission on Public Records.¹

At the same time, there was a consensus of opinion among the delegates as to the rapid disappearance of Local War Records and of personal information relating to recent events. The Conference was impressed with the importance of preserving ample specimens of War Records through the good offices of local historical societies. It was also considered desirable to encourage the publication of local War Histories and the collection of relics and records in War Museums and Public Libraries.

Eventually the Conference proceeded to consider the disposal of local War Records of an unofficial nature ; for it soon realized that all records of an official nature, and some others of a public nature, would be dealt with under the Public Record Office Acts. Nevertheless a large number of official documents in the custody

¹ Reference was made, in connexion with the distribution of Local Records, to the published Reports of the Royal Commission, to the Report of the Local Records Committee, and to the work of Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb, which are the most important sources of information on the subject. The *Repertory of British Archives* (England) was published a few months later. It must be obvious, however, that the Conference could scarcely have hoped to solve in one day the problems which had been the subject of the above investigations, covering a period of more than twenty years. The important 'Official Histories' of the War Departments have apparently been compiled for the information of the Government and not for the use of students. Moreover the use that is made of the War Records therein is still an unknown quantity.

of judicial and statutory authorities, Royal Commissions and Departmental Committees, have never been recognized as the property of the Crown. The authorities concerned seem to have been unaware that the provisions of the Public Record Office Acts have been extended to such documents by an Order in Council;¹ but apart from the perilous position of these official waifs and strays, the anxiety of the Conference was fully justified by the notorious neglect of many unofficial documents which have more than a contemporary interest in connexion with the History of the War.²

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE DISPOSAL OF WAR RECORDS

The present position of the War Records is certainly an unsatisfactory one; but the obvious danger to the interests of historical learning from their inadequate disposal can only be averted by well-considered measures of archive economy, and the time for taking such measures has nearly passed. Official action has been taken in certain cases, as we have seen, largely through the representations of the Royal Commission; and the Record Officers have carried out their duties as efficiently as the haste and confusion of eleventh-hour decisions permitted. Moreover, the circumstances of the times enabled these officers to receive the valuable assistance or advice of several trained historians and economists who were temporarily employed in the War Departments.³

In any case, the necessity for disposing of a large proportion of the War Records otherwise than by preservation in the Public Record Office had to be faced, and no other procedure was available than that authorized by the Public Record Office Act of 1877.⁴ It is, however, important that the recommendations of the Royal Commission in this connexion should be carried out. Historians will certainly require an accurate description of the

¹ 1912 Report, Appx. I, *Repertory*, pp. xxiii-xxv.

² The fate of some of these was discussed at the Conference.

³ Among others from Mr. Stanley Leathes, the late Sir E. C. Gonner, and Professor H. W. C. Davis. The influence of others (including Sir Wm. Beveridge, Professor W. R. Scott, and Sir Sidney Low) was also valuable.

⁴ It has not been generally noticed that the War Records have been dealt with under the Act as accruing Departmental Records, since 1914, and not as a special collection; in fact no provision was made by the authorities for any other treatment of these records.

administrative functions of the various War Departments with a complete return of their respective records. They will also expect such as have been selected for preservation to be properly housed and made accessible to students. These War Records would have found a place in the much needed State Paper Office for post-Victorian documents recommended by the Royal Commission. For want of such a repository they have found a precarious refuge in temporary store-sheds or in a vacant gaol.

Perhaps it is not even yet too late for a collective reconstruction of the War Archives. Much material for their institutional history still exists in the shape of departmental memoranda, graphs, establishments, statistics, and registers, besides a great number of departmental Reports and other printed matter. At the present moment the only information of a systematic nature that is available is contained in the Schedules of War Records destroyed by authority of Parliament. Lists of the records preserved presumably exist in all cases and, in some cases, complete lists or registers of the entire contents of the War Registries may have survived. A collation of these isolated lists and schedules would furnish valuable materials for a review of the national service of Great Britain during the War, and the results might be summarized, at a very moderate expense, as a 'Guide' to the War Records. Such a work would be of real value for administrative purposes, as well as for the information of archivists dealing with the records from time to time. It would also assist the compilation of more detailed lists which must be made in due course.

Such a volume should contain a brief history of the several War Departments, an account of their functions and a description of their records.¹ This information might be arranged in three parts: (1) The Ministries and other Departments (including temporary Commissions or Committees) set up in relation to the War; (2) Pre-War Departments adapted for National Service during the War; (3) Departments not directly or materially concerned with the conduct of the War. A bibliography of printed Reports of Temporary Commissions or Committees, and

¹ In the case of Departments whose history and establishments are already published, reference might be made to the printed accounts.

other Parliamentary or Departmental Papers of historical interest might be added as an Appendix; and there should be a full Index. Any official information or explanations as to the state of the War Archives could be given in an Introduction and would obviously add to the value of the work.

The question of the inclusion in such a 'Guide' of the official or other documents of a public nature in various local custodies would have to be settled on rather broader lines. Hitherto the Crown has only exercised control over the disposal of such of these documents as are still preserved in departmental repositories; even the records of the Local Courts of Justice have been left to their fate, a contemptuous treatment in keeping with an exclusive policy of centralization. Unless, however, the local authorities are sensible of their responsibility in this matter, and unless they can devise some method of co-operation with the learned societies and public institutions for the arrangement, classification, and description of the War Records on a uniform plan, we must await a reorganization of our Central and Local Records on the lines of the Continental archives.

There is greater scope for the intervention of historical societies or of individual antiquaries on behalf of the preservation of those so-called Local War Records that are not of an official or public nature.¹ This class includes, as we have seen, documents connected with various local organizations set up or administered by the zeal of private individuals. It may also include, in practice (though not in theory), the records of various local War Committees and other bodies appointed or recognized in connexion with some national service. In these cases the service was purely voluntary, and was often independent of official control; or if a nominal control was exercised by some Department, no steps were taken to secure the official custody of the documents connected with the departmental administration.²

Finally, there are many interesting documents, issued from various official quarters, or compiled through personal enterprise,

¹ This was abundantly demonstrated at the recent Conference in respect of the interesting local types mentioned by Lord Onslow and Professor Hearnshaw among Surrey records, and by Professor W. R. Scott in connexion with the activities of learned Societies in the Glasgow district.

² This position is, however, naturally ignored in official quarters.

which have remained in the possession of a family or have been acquired by individual collectors. It is unlikely that documents connected with personal activities in the national service need be kept permanently*for the purpose of illustrating the history of the War. Nevertheless it is desirable to make sure that sufficient types and specimens of such collections have been preserved in local War Museums and other institutions. Perhaps the only satisfactory method of accomplishing this would be the formation of approved collections with the support of the County Councils, which are already responsible for the preservation of the ordinary parochial records.

As the prospects of new legislation for the betterment of the archives is remote, and the need for preserving the War Records is admittedly urgent, an understanding on this subject between the Record Officers, the local authorities, and the learned societies is certainly desirable; but this can only be regarded as a temporary measure justified by the exigencies of the War itself.

It is useless, however, to make plans for the salvage or reconstruction of the War Records unless some means can be devised for carrying out those plans. After all, the Local War Records are in the same position as other records in public or private custody; and even the Public Records of the Realm are in no better case. We have seen¹ that, before the War, no suitable provision had been made for the custody, arrangement, description, or use of Departmental Records and other official documents, out-numbering the Public Records already transferred into the custody or the charge of the Master of the Rolls. At a modest computation the number of these outstanding records would have been trebled by the accession of the War Records, if all of them had survived; but we have seen that since the close of the War an unknown quantity of records has been disposed of by statutory authority. These were official documents which came within the definition of the Public Record Office Act of 1838, exclusive of Local Records in the custody of various authorities or individuals. The number of the latter is legion; their constitutional position and even their nature and use are imperfectly known, and their ultimate disposal is precarious.

¹ p. 240 sq.

In short, the state of three-fourths of the Public and Local Records of England and Wales is, as French archivists and scholars have told us, wholly unsatisfactory.¹ The suggestion that a large proportion of them is negligible, because they refer to contemporary or recent history, is to beg a question that concerns our own posterity.

Under the Principal Act and the Order in Council of 1852 the Public Record Office is responsible for the 'charge' and 'superintendence' of accruing records. If the Departments which produced these records failed to keep them properly, the Act provided an effective remedy ; ² but even if the Act could not be worked, it was plainly the duty of the authorities concerned to procure its amendment. The neglect and destruction of national records shows that it is useless to rely on the unenterprising methods of the constituted authorities. At the same time, some steps ought to be taken to carry out the urgent requirements of students.

Experience has taught us that there is only one means of learning the truth of these matters, and that is by the appointment of a Royal Commission qualified to present the facts of the case and competent to recommend appropriate action. No objection can be made to this device in respect of expense or expediency, for the cost is trifling, and the procedure has the authority both of the Crown and Parliament.

The historians who have waited more than a hundred years for the accomplishment of reforms that are essential for preserving the documentary records of our national life, in Peace and in War, deserve to see the fulfilment of their ideals.

¹ Langlois and Stein. Cf. below, p. 175, for the opinion of M. Paul Meyer.

² As explained in the Reports of the Royal Commission and of the Local Records Committee as well as in a Memorial presented to the Prime Minister by many influential students in June 1920.

CHAPTER III

THE USE OF RECORDS FOR THE NATIONAL SERVICE

War Records and War Memorials — The Sources of Contemporary History — Requirements of Contemporary Historical Study — National Service by Historians and Economists — The Co-operation of Learned Societies.

It has been frequently remarked that American and Continental students are probably better acquainted with the contents of the Public Record Office than most Londoners could claim to be. We have also been reminded, more than once, in recent years that the study of the documentary sources of Modern History has been sadly neglected in this country. It is true that we have not taken this reproof to heart, and that we have made no special effort to mend our ways ; but, here and there, we find scholars who resent the reproach of being outside the pale of European culture in this matter of the archives. Moreover, we know that no excuse for this neglect is furnished by the vicissitudes of kings. Our Public Records were compiled and preserved under the same conditions as existed abroad ; and they have escaped the havoc that has been wrought in foreign archives by hostile invasion and civil war. The neglect that they have experienced and the losses that they have consequently suffered are due to the fact that their value as a national treasure has not been as fully realized in this country as it has been abroad.

One cause of this foreign enlightenment has been often noted. The French Revolution brought about a remarkable change in the treatment of State documents. Instead of burning old records, like the insurgent peasantry of the Middle Ages, one of the first acts of the Republic was to nationalize them. With the restoration of the French monarchy, in 1814, the archives had become a national institution which no government dared to despise or neglect, and the care of archives was taught and practised as a State service. As Frankish scholars had reformed the official handwriting of Western Europe in the ninth century, so the

'Science' or 'Economy' of the French archives was adopted by most of the European nations a thousand years later, and in the neat phrase of a French scholar, 'le gouvernement est passé du rôle de souverain à celui de tuteur.'¹

The conservation of State archives and the elucidation of national history became a matter of public policy in every country which had profited by the lesson of the French Revolution. That lesson, so far as it enjoins an efficient administration of State archives, has never been forgotten on the Continent. There was no more ominous act in the early days of the World War than the wanton destruction of archives. There were few more interesting tokens of reconstruction after the War than the appointment of Commissions of experts² to restore or to apportion ancient national archives.

In England, however, the lesson learned on the Continent from the French Revolution has not been suitably applied. Official documents, which in theory are the property of the Crown, have continued to be vested in their custodians, who have received no recognized training as archivists, and who often have no knowledge of the nature or value of the records in their charge. This state of things is possibly due to the conservative distrust of the French Revolution which influenced English statecraft for more than one generation. Six hundred years earlier Matthew Paris petulantly insisted that England had no use for papal and imperial notaries; and, following this insular tradition, we have held ourselves aloof from the methods of French scholars to whose learning and patriotism the admirable system of the Continental archives is due.³

In this country the zeal of the reformers of 1832 was responsible for a tardy recognition of the importance of national history and public use of the records; but the movement was short-lived,

¹ A. de Tocqueville, *L'ancien régime et la Révolution*, p. 61.

² The salvage and redistribution of the archives of Western and Central Europe have been practically directed by expert archivists (cf. *Transactions R. Hist. Soc.*, 4th Series (vols. ii and iii)).

³ Langlois and Stein, *Archives de l'histoire de France*, p. xiii. The ancient procedure of the great Venetian Republic furnishes an example of the high degree of efficiency that can be attained by the organized training of State officials. Here, however, and in the case of other notarial colleges (including our own 'Doctors' Commons') no provision was made for the separate custody of the older records by professional archivists, with the result that a large part of the archives was destroyed by successive fires.

and it engendered no consistent policy. The Public Record Office Act of 1838 is, indeed, an important event in the annals of national culture, but it stands alone. Abroad, the decrees for the nationalization of the archives have given birth to a long series of enlightened measures. Besides instituting central archives and official publications (with which our own reforms began and ended), the local archives of the several States, departments, and communes have been saved and made available under skilled direction. Everywhere we find 'Schools of Charters', archivistic literature and periodicals, professional societies and gatherings. In point of scientific treatment, the construction and fittings of the foreign archives, the comprehensive inventories of documents, the enterprising 'guides' to foreign collections, and the systematic publication of official dispatches may well excite the envy of our own students.

WAR RECORDS AND WAR MEMORIALS

The lessons of the World War and the critical position of our economic and social interests may once more stimulate the public spirit which led to the foundation of the Public Record Office and then faded away. Doubts have indeed been expressed as to the permanent utility or popularity of national memorials that are exclusively associated with historical events. Some of those events undoubtedly excited the strongest emotions of contemporary witnesses, but after the lapse of many years their testimony may leave us unmoved. The stately monuments which mark the spot where the funeral procession of a Plantagenet queen halted once more, or where a great fire or a grievous plague was stayed, no longer appeal to us; but it is otherwise with the treasure houses of national relics which have always formed enduring landmarks in the civilization of even the smallest States. The processes of history are those of constant change, but the records of the change itself remain wherever the process is accepted as 'historic'. Ancient palaces and forts have been replaced by public buildings, courts of justice and town-halls, churches and chapels, libraries and institutes; and, beside these, in 'some old-fashioned house, in an old-fashioned street of an old-fashioned town', throughout the continent of Western Europe, we commonly find

the public archives. In one of the remoter Swiss cantons there is a small but ancient town wherein an unpretentious archive-house displays the following proud inscription :

I watch over the old charters of liberty of the men of this town ;
To preserve the liberties themselves, is their own care.

Then there is the other picture, such as that recently drawn by an American explorer of the Mexican archives.¹ Everywhere the student looks in vain for a track through the wilderness of unsorted records, for during three centuries that nation has put off till ' to-morrow ' what should have been done to-day. And so the old charters of its liberties are lost sight of and forgotten ; and so for us also ' to-morrow ' may be one day too late.

Can we not interpret profitably the moral of those neglected archives ? ' Mañana ' has only one significance for business men. A Government that cannot produce the authentic records of a nation's acts may find itself in the same plight as one that cannot redeem its paper currency with gold. In both cases the safety of the State depends on the conservation of national treasure ; in neither case can the want be supplied by a mere ' gesture '.

THE SOURCES OF CONTEMPORARY HISTORY

At the same time the national use of our Public Records is not confined to compiling authentic memorials of the past. It must not be said that we are better acquainted with the history of every other period than that in which we and our own fathers have lived. And yet we find historians and bibliographers eagerly collecting such stray documentary materials as are available ; while learned societies have been organized in protest against the neglect of recent history ; ² for the archivists, whose business it is to prepare the original sources for the use of historians, have not yet dealt with the State Papers of the last eighty years.

This fact is not generally appreciated, though historical students can realize its importance ; and from time to time it is unconsciously affirmed by public men when they refer to the

¹ *Guide to the Manuscript Materials (for U.S.A. History) in the Archives of Mexico*, p. v.

² e. g. Société d'histoire moderne ; Société d'histoire contemporaine.

authoritative history of the World War which will be written long after our day,¹ and which will decide the merits of the belligerent causes together with the methods whereby they have been maintained.

This definition of history as an authoritative and judicial record is instructive, for here and in these appeals to the judgment of unborn scholars we have a tacit admission of the inadequacy of contemporary historical writings.

Indeed, the popular conception of historical composition does not embrace scientific methods of research. It usually suffices for the credibility of historical statements that they have been printed, and neither the credentials of the author nor the sources of his information are closely examined. Provided that the writer's conclusions are agreeable to his readers' taste, the facts are readily accepted and assimilated. So epoch-making events connected with domestic and foreign affairs or with the economic and social welfare of the nation are casually noted, and the life-work of men and women is commemorated in a set form of words.

The truth is that we have been accustomed to make the history of our own times without pausing to consider how our actions will be viewed hereafter. In prosperous days the devious course of political and economic events is obscured by the rank growths of security and ease. In days of national danger one momentous event after another passes before our eyes in a graphic panorama ; but generally we do not realize their true significance, for even an historian cannot always interpret the writing on the wall, nor would the attempt be always regarded as desirable.

It is needless to enlarge upon this matter ; we have the daily spectacle of many extravagances before our eyes. The repeated statement of supposed facts, the confident prediction of certain events, may be unconsciously inspired by the wish for their accomplishment. Again, these assertions, or the positive denial of actual facts, may be made deliberately, from patriotic or political motives, though equally without any regard for the common ideals of public morality.

¹ *The Times*, 19 November 1917.

REQUIREMENTS OF CONTEMPORARY HISTORICAL STUDY

It is not surprising, therefore, that the historian should be at fault in dealing with the history of his own times. A trained scholar, accustomed to sift every statement, to test every tradition of an earlier period by recourse to original scripts and legal evidence, is scarcely in his element with such materials as telegraphic summaries of events or official *communiqués* intended for public consumption. Yet we know that, after many years have passed, the skilled historian will be able to make an adequate survey of these times. He will relegate a large proportion of the effusions which have passed with us for history to the domain of politics or of literature; he will amend freely the partial statement of established facts and he will draw further conclusions from the fresh facts that will be available in authentic documents. Then indeed our great-grandchildren will be able to read with perfect understanding the brave deeds of their countrymen in a time of national danger, and they will also read in that book other things that will move them to sorrow, pity, anger, or contempt for the infirmities of human nature.

But although we can appreciate the significance of a reference to some final record of historical events, we may be tempted to regret that our statesmen have not recognized the value of an organized effort to enlarge and purify the shallow and turbid sources of contemporary history.¹

It is certainly unfortunate that the experiment has not been made. We have often been warned against the error of assuming that it may be possible for the historian to forecast the course of future events by means of a close observation of past and present phenomena. We cannot hope to shape our destinies from historical examples or by counsels of perfection; but it will count for much if we can know ourselves in the image reflected by the page of history. Is it not possible that, if the true facts connected with the contemporary history of the last two hundred years could have been written fully, the nations might have avoided many follies and misfortunes? The task of writing the history of those times is not yet completed; but we are now

¹ *American Historical Review*, July 1917, p. 831.

fully informed upon many matters that were dark and doubtful to our ancestors, and we have been able to draw conclusions therefrom to our profit. Therefore, given facilities for the careful study of contemporary history, it is difficult to believe that good use would not be made of the opportunity.

To some extent our knowledge of historical events, especially such as are of international interest, depends on the information that we can obtain from official sources ; though the amount of our indebtedness may be measured rather by the quality than by the quantity of the materials employed. For example, the texts of international treaties have been extensively printed, but we are only acquainted with their full significance down to a certain date which coincides with the restriction of our researches. After this date we are often in doubt in regard to the true nature and extent of our international engagements ; for our knowledge of earlier negotiations must be derived from researches in the archives of all the signatory Powers, and this method cannot as yet be extended to the contents of the modern chancelleries. As an experienced American historical scholar has well said : ‘ The specific gravity of this material, so to speak, is exceptionally great, as the history of many colonial wars will testify. It is hard, however, for the student to obtain it. Treaties were often printed it is true ; but they have often not been printed anywhere with perfect accuracy, and they can now only be found embedded in great and expensive collections, and sometimes not even there.’¹

NATIONAL SERVICE BY HISTORIANS AND ECONOMISTS

At the time when the immediate and future welfare of the civilized world was the subject of much anxious consideration, and when the whole nation was prepared to render willing service in the interests of the public safety, we were inclined to lose sight of the part that might be played by the historian or the economist

¹ J. F. Jameson in *A.H.R.*, July 1906. The collation of all treaties and treaty papers affecting individual countries is a long neglected national enterprise which has, however, been recently accomplished for the History of the United States in a series which is in course of publication (cf. Historical MSS. Commission, 18th Report, Appx.). The first volume, admirably edited by Dr. Frances G. Davenport, dealing with the Treaties which concerned American interests between 1485 and 1648, has been published.

in the great drama of the War. Indeed it would be difficult to imagine an occasion on which their services could be more usefully employed ; for the causes and effects of this tremendous struggle cannot be accurately stated without the aid of historical science, or effectively displayed without the illumination of historical art.

There can be little doubt therefore that both for practical and moral purposes the nation would benefit by the maintenance of a high standard of historical method. The historian who is fully equipped for his task, through the goodwill of the State, may hope to accomplish great things. To him many books will be open that are now shut ; to him many well-kept secrets of statecraft will be revealed. He will trace the inception and course of every political action, of every constitutional measure, and of many important economic or social developments. He will record the great deeds of the nation in its material and moral progress, giving credit, where it is really due, to men of action or scholars, and he will also faithfully expose the neglect of duty or errors of judgement that have been responsible for national inefficiency or disaster.

That British historical scholars would have willingly co-operated in preparing the authentic materials for a national History of the World War is abundantly proved by their literary activities during the earlier phase.¹ These activities, however, produced no very important results, and other men of learning could perhaps claim to have rendered more practical services to the State. Then, in the later phase of the War, historians and economists made good their individual claims to be represented in the technical deliberations of the Government, or in the work of the Departments and Committees connected with the War.

Among those official bodies were some whose functions might from the first have been co-ordinated with advantage by the supervision of historians and economists, and especially (as

¹ Among the most valuable of these publications, because produced by organized research and reproducing original texts, are the Diplomatic Dispatches edited by Sir F. Piggott. The moral of earlier historical analogies has been pointed out by the late Sir George Prothero, Sir Charles Oman, Sir Charles Firth, Prof. Pollard, Prof. Hearnshaw, and other trained historians. In another direction the recent economic crisis in this country has shown the value of expert opinion, when expressed with knowledge and conviction by scholarly administrators like Mr. Sidney Webb and Sir William Beveridge.

a Royal Commission has pointed out¹) by the co-operation of trained archivists.² Probably the collaboration of scholars in the preparation of historical and economic propaganda would have lent weight to the ephemeral publications of a Ministry of Information; but the special mission of the historical scholar would have been to collect and arrange the materials for a History of the War.

The question might naturally be raised whether an historian is competent to write the history of events in which he has an absorbing personal interest. Again, it might be objected that in any case he could not have access to the materials necessary for the discovery and statement of the facts.

It may be admitted that under present conditions more than one generation must elapse before the historian can have access to the archives which contain the true history of these times. Again, his attention will be inevitably distracted by the obtrusion of irrelevant or inaccurate materials. His desk will be littered with carefully edited dispatches, garbled texts, faked returns, and censored reports. But apart from these imperfect sources there are, undoubtedly, some materials of real value and easily accessible, both in print and manuscript, though insufficient for all the purposes in view. Finally, there are, for the contemporary historian alone, the psychological aspects of town and countryside at war, gossip in the camp, news from the front, and other precious scraps of oral evidence.

The enumeration of these elusive sources may perhaps give a hint for the guidance of the perplexed student of contemporary history. Since access to certain sources of information is at present impossible, he is clearly unable to compile that complete and accurate statement of the facts which is essential for an authoritative and impartial history. But is he, therefore, to be condemned by historical purists to complete inaction, and are we to be deprived of a valuable contribution to historical knowledge even though it may not have been prepared by exhaustive methods of research?

This question may perhaps be regarded as a fair statement

¹ 1919 Report, Appx. (II), pp. 123 and 125.

² Registry clerks lent by one Department for the instruction of another are not necessarily archivists.

of the respective positions of the purist and the opportunist, and it might be answered to the satisfaction of them both. The answer is that there is not the least need for the contemporary historian to suspend his activities. There is other more important and more urgent work for him to do than to mark time by producing a perfunctory and inconclusive history of recent events. Such compilations, however skilfully made and however acceptable to patriotic readers, produce no real impression on neutral opinion, and are, as we have seen, easily countered by hostile experts who are able to prepare another version of the matter, based on alleged facts which cannot be examined or controverted at the present time. But the material facts alleged on either side must be submitted to a searching examination by impartial experts, and the true history of these times will be written from that fuller knowledge. The preparation for such an undertaking must be long and arduous, and for obvious reasons it cannot be begun too soon.

The materials for such a survey will comprise documents of various kinds, whether printed or manuscript; and these documents must be discovered, classified, and described before their evidence can as it were be taken. But in dealing with the history of contemporary or recent times we do not need to search the documents for facts which are notorious to all men. We do so rather for the purpose of verifying those facts or to discover supplementary evidence. It is still possible from oral tradition to ascertain facts which relate to a period of more than a hundred years ago, and it would be unwise to neglect the large mass of personal evidence that is available for a history of the War period.

It will be evident that the historian who embarks upon such researches as these must be busily employed. It will also be noted that in two respects his work will be of exceptional value, namely the collection and investigation of oral testimony and the perpetuation of documentary evidence which might easily perish or become inaccessible in course of time.

THE CO-OPERATION OF LEARNED SOCIETIES

In matters of this sort, moreover, even the most scientific and indefatigable worker will need the assistance of some scheme

of organized research, and to some extent the nucleus of such organization already exists. British Archivists are not represented, as abroad, by any society or guild ; nor is there in this, as in other countries, any series of learned publications produced under their auspices :¹ at the same time the British historical societies could provide a large and skilled body of workers with personal knowledge of the various local conditions.

Now, although the numbers and resources of these learned bodies may not be comparable to those available in some foreign countries, they are by no means to be despised. There is also a large number of periodical publications devoted to historical learning, and if our historians and antiquaries chose to organize themselves for this purpose, they could easily compel attention to their recommendations.

An organized system of ' National Service for Historians ' was suggested by the writer during the War,² and some such system has been established in the United States of America with excellent results. In this country individual historians have been usefully employed, but there has been no attempt to mobilize the resources of historical learning in the service of the State. The archives have been utilized for co-ordinating the War Records of the Imperial Forces ; but there is no visible co-ordination of the valuable researches of the Historical Sections or Committees concerned with various aspects of military and naval history as well as with official or semi-official intelligence and propaganda. It would certainly have been an interesting experiment in departmental organization if the establishments of the national archives³ and learned societies or Royal Commissions could have been organized as a central department of historical research, divided

¹ Archivists in the United Kingdom and British Dominions have published many works individually, of which a considerable proportion would have been contributed to professional publications, if any such had existed.

² *Contemporary Review*, May 1916, p. 603. An American historian who took a prominent part in the activities of historical bodies in the United States during the War has published an eloquent plea for the unselfish and whole-hearted co-operation of historical experts in preserving and co-ordinating the materials which will be essential for an adequate ' History of the World War ' (Professor J. T. Shotwell in *Columbia University Quarterly*, xxi, No. 4, 1919). For other proposals and for the activities of American Historical Scholars generally, during the War, see W. G. Leland in *A.H.R.*, October 1912 ; April-July 1923.

³ Including the British Museum and other institutions mentioned in American ' Guides '.

into appropriate sections for the purpose of dealing with the historical problems of the War as well as with those of the Peace and Reconstruction which have attempted to make good its havoc.

Perhaps we can scarcely expect that our own Government will assist these researches by means of an official survey of the derelict War Archives, although on numerous occasions, from the thirteenth century onwards, historical information has been collected for national purposes by Royal or Parliamentary authority. The present moment is certainly not a propitious one for the official subvention of such an enterprise as this. Learning and research have always suffered first in the course of political retrenchment, and it would seem that our historians must rely on the resources of their own order.

At the same time the Government can give valuable facilities for this purpose, and it is very desirable that immediate action should be taken in a matter that equally concerns our national interests and reputation. President Wilson had occasion to remind us that the sword turned the scale of a nation's fortunes in earlier days of barbarian warfare, but our peacemakers should not forget that the written word will remain when the sword has rusted away. Indeed this evidence was once regarded as a binding covenant by princes and their subjects alike, and the prestige of our national records still survives in Domesday Book, Magna Carta, and many other historic documents on which the judgements of History are firmly based.

In such a cause as this the preservation and reconstruction of the archives must be earnestly desired ; for this is not a matter that concerns the historian or antiquary alone, the nation itself is intimately concerned herein. The archives include title-deeds of public and private possessions, the evidences of our national credit, and the authentic records of our national life. Without their sure guidance as precedents for statecraft, strategy, or commerce ; without their warning notices of human frailty and error, or their illustrations of the manners and customs of former times, we should indeed be ill-equipped to steer a safe course through the devious channels of international politics, or to solve some difficult problems of an earlier and later civilization.

SECTION II. GUIDE TO WAR RECORDS

CHAPTER IV

THE ARCHIVES OF PUBLIC DEPARTMENTS DURING THE WORLD WAR

I

A DESCRIPTION of the pre-War Departments of State and Public Institutions was contained in the First Report (1912) and Second Report (1914) of the Royal Commission on Public Records. Earlier and later accounts will be found in *Studies in English Official Documents* (1908), and in a *Repertory of British Archives* (1920), by the present writer, who also made a survey of the War Records of several Public Departments in 1917 on behalf of the Record Commission which has published some interesting observations on the subject in its Third Report (1919).¹

It is obvious that more than one method might be employed for dealing with the copious but confused materials that exist for a classified list of the British Administrative Departments and Committees concerned with many national aspects of the World War.² For example, they might be printed in alphabetical order with brief indications of their origin and functions, followed by bibliographical references. This method of presentment would have the advantage of bringing together kindred organizations. On the other hand, the duplication of departmental functions, which notoriously and perhaps inevitably existed during the War, would involve many cross-references and explanations.

By another plan the Departments and Committees might be grouped under general headings descriptive of their functions during the War. This plan would certainly have the advantage of avoiding many difficulties connected with the purpose and duration of the several organizations ; but in this arrangement the

¹ *Passim*, and Appx. V. For other notices of the War Archives, including the Head-quarters of Local War Records, see below, Appendices A to E.

² See above, Chap. I, and below, Appx. B.

very titles are arbitrary, while the loss to historical knowledge by ignoring the relationship of the War Departments is a serious one.

On the whole, then, it has seemed best to compile a brief account of the origin and functions of the more distinctive War Departments, with occasional mention of the Sub-Departments and Committees which are known or were reputed to be under their control or supervision, or which were apparently concerned with similar official business.¹ This compilation has been attempted for England only, since the task for dealing with the sister Kingdoms, the Dominions, and the Colonial dependencies will be more properly and adequately accomplished by the respective national archivists. An alphabetical list of the Sub-Departments and Committees in question will be issued as a separate publication in this series. No attempt has therefore been made to account for the large number of Royal Commissions or Committees which were appointed by the Government during the War apart from departmental developments. It may be observed, however, that the status of 'War Departments' has been extended to certain Commissions, Committees, Boards, or Executive Departments in the following pages on the strength of official pronouncements.

The titles of the Departments included in this survey are set out in alphabetical order based on the essential function in each case. Thus the Ministry of Pensions and the General Post Office will be found under Pensions and Post Office respectively.

ADMIRALTY

An obvious result of the offensive and defensive operations of the British Army and Navy during the World War has been the great accession to the departmental archives of the War period. During the year 1915 as many as 150,000 Admiralty papers were registered in the Secretary's department alone as against 50,000 registered during the year 1913.² Although powers were taken under a Statutory Schedule of 1884 for the destruction of any papers preserved or accruing in the several branches of the

¹ Various details in the epitomes of archives given below have been supplied by the courtesy of the respective Departments.

² Public Records Commission, 1919 Report, Appx. (II), p. 121.

Admiralty that might be regarded as valueless,¹ they had not taken effect down to the end of 1917. In 1922 a new and comprehensive Schedule was prepared and laid before Parliament, under which an extensive destruction of War Records has been sanctioned. Some of these would emanate from new departments of the Admiralty immediately concerned with naval operations or construction. In this connexion Ships' Logs and Manifests might be of occasional interest and the reports of the Naval Intelligence Office would certainly be valuable. Other expansions of the Board during the War whose records might contain information for the Economic and Social History of the World War will probably include the following: Coastguard and Auxiliary Services; Construction of Shipping; Dockyard Labour; Land and Buildings; Scientific and Industrial Research; Censorship; Trade; Transport; Air Service; and Prize. Of these, the last seven were either dealt with by other Departments also,² or developed as distinct Departments.³ In addition to these and other important branches, naval interests were also represented by a number of Committees, for the most part affiliated to the Admiralty, and some of them should have preserved Records of interest for Historical Study.⁴ The records of the Women's Royal Naval Service ('Wrens') have not been regarded as official archives. It may be noted in connexion with the official destruction of Admiralty Records that a very small percentage of the Records issued between 1839 and 1860 have been preserved by the Secretary's Department.⁵ The subject is referred to in chapters II and VIII of this work.

Certain naval activities of the British Government can scarcely be regarded as being of a departmental nature, while others were either of a temporary nature or were eventually continued by other agencies, some of which are referred to in the following pages. Under the former head may be mentioned the Naval Allied Commission (1918), the Naval Allied Council (1917), the Naval Prize

¹ P.R.O. Rules and Schedules (1913), p. 378 sq.

² i. e. Labour, Trade, and Prize.

³ i. e. Research, Censorship, Transport, and Air Service. The last two of these became the Ministries of Shipping and Air. Outside the Admiralty were the General Register of Shipping and Seamen and the Mercantile Marine Department of the Board of Trade.

⁴ See below under Ministry of Shipping, and Salter, *Merchant Shipping, passim*.

⁵ *Quarterly Review*, April 1917.

High Court Tribunal (1918), and the Mines Information Committee. Under the latter head fall such bodies as Claims and Expenditure Committees, Shipbuilding, Press Censorship, and Dockyard Labour and Transport Arbitration departments.

MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES

The activities of the 'Old Board of Agriculture' during the Napoleonic War and the period of Reconstruction that followed the Peace of 1815 were continued by the Royal Agricultural Society ;¹ but the national policy herein was very inadequately directed by the Privy Council Office and Home Office in Whitehall and locally in the sessions of the Justices of the Peace.

Special functions in connexion with Agriculture were discharged by Tithe and Enclosure Commissioners for some time after 1836. In 1883 a central Committee was appointed by the Privy Council, and this in turn was superseded by a Board of Agriculture in 1889, which undertook the care of Fisheries and Horticulture from 1903. The Board of Agriculture and Fisheries also controlled the Ordnance Survey Department (1890) and Kew Gardens (1903), both of which were actively concerned in National Service during the World War.

The departmental archives of the pre-War Board of Agriculture (which became a Ministry in 1919) have been described in the Reports of the Royal Commission on Public Records and in Schedules for the destruction of valueless Records.² A notable feature of the archives of the Department has been the compilation and issue of records of scientific or technical experiments and national propaganda.

The important part played by the Board itself may be gathered from the titles of the Departments and Committees for which it was officially responsible, while its relations with the Ministry of Food were naturally very close.

This brief account of the activities of the Ministry during the War does not include several departmental Committees of an advisory nature, Councils and Local Bodies, besides certain Sub-Committees for special purposes, and associations operating

¹ See p. 249.

² P.R.O. Rules and Schedules (1913), pp. 396-417, and relative Papers.

under official direction. These dealt with such various subjects as Agricultural policy and Administration, Education, Employment and Labour, Machinery, Relief of Allies, Allotments, Bee-keeping, Credit facilities, Cultivation of vacant Lands, Crop Improvement, Drainage, Cattle disease, Farm Produce for H.M. Forces, Feeding Stuffs, Finance, Fish, Grain Supply, Harvest, Horticulture, Horse-breeding and feeding, Intelligence, Land Settlement, Livestock, Losses, Machinery and Implements, Milk production and distribution, Markets, Military Service, Potatoes, Preserving Food, Rabbits, Small Holdings, Training, Wages, Threshing, Posts, Village Societies, Women's Land Service: the above refer not only to England but also to Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, as well as to the several county and parish authorities and to various technical institutions.

The disposal of the Records relating to Local Food Production during the War under Defence of the Realm Regulations deserves some further mention, as these have already been dealt with under a statutory Schedule (16 August 1920). This covers the archives of the County Agricultural Committees reorganized under the Cultivation of Lands Order of 18 August 1918 and reconstituted under an Order of 25 January 1919. The powers exercised by these Committees were transferred under the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries Act of 1919 to Agricultural Committees set up by the County Councils. The operations of the Committees were important and are of peculiar interest, but it has been previously mentioned that their Records were not always carefully preserved (above, p. 13).

Under the official Schedule of 1920, all Minutes, Reports, and important papers of Committees or Sub-Committees will be preserved. The business of the County Committees is indicated by such headings as Licences for supplies of Coal, Petrol, Malt, Potatoes, allocations of Tractors, Horses and Prisoners of War, Licences to sell Horses, exemption from Military Service, and Transfers of Labour. The typical records of the Committees were, however, those of a purely agrarian character, in continuation of the invaluable collection of British agrarian records which has been occasionally preserved from the eleventh century onwards. The records in question include censuses and returns of farm crops and stocks, &c., cultivation notices in individual cases,

tenancy agreements for lands taken over by Committees, maps and plans, &c. The originals of these Records will apparently be destroyed unless they are preserved by local antiquarians.

Appended is a select list of the special War Departments, central and local, which worked with the Board of Agriculture during the War.¹ A fuller list will appear in another monograph in this Series.²

AIR MINISTRY

This Ministry was established in 1918 to take over the control of Naval and Military Aviation.³ Although the bulk of its records deal with naval and military operations the kindred profession of Civil Aviation is of economic importance; but it does not appear from the statutory schedule of October 1918 that inventions or construction schemes have been recorded as fully as the military and naval devices of an earlier period. There are, however, supplementary sources of information for these matters. A special feature of the scientific activities of the Ministry has been the direction of Meteorological intelligence, since 1919, a public service taken over by the Admiralty during the War.⁴

The functions of the old Meteorological Office, instituted in 1854 and reorganized in 1867, are described in the Second Report of the Royal Commission on Public Records, which has also reported on its archives.⁵ These functions included the distribution of intelligence for the benefit of agriculturists and of the general public. During the War when every nerve was strained for an increased Food Production the value of this specialized intelligence was appreciable.

Of less scientific interest, but of far greater economic importance, were the extensive operations of the Ministry in respect of the acquisition of lands, buildings, timber, and other property on a scale which rivalled the like official undertakings by the War Office, the Admiralty, and the Ministry of Munitions.

In view of the economic and social disturbance caused by these activities, and in view also of the historical interest which is

¹ Appendix C.

² *A Dictionary of Official War Time Organizations*, by Dr. N. B. Dearle.

³ Air Boards had been set up in 1916 and an Air Staff in 1917, established in April 1918, and disestablished in April 1922. Pay Office Records (scheduled in June 1922) were not of economic or social interest.

⁴ Cf. 1914 Report, Appx., p. 196.

⁵ Pp. 36-7 and Appx. (II), pp. 86, 196.

attached to the Records of 'Lands, Buildings, and Rents', &c., preserved among the Admiralty and War Office Records from the sixteenth century onwards, it seems desirable that the main Records of this nature for the period of the World War should be classified and described by competent archivists.

COLONIAL OFFICE

The interest and importance of the Colonial Records for the Economic History of the World War will be evident from a later chapter VII) of this work.¹ Generally, therefore, the relations between the mother country and her allies or dependencies overseas as recorded in the Colonial archives will be supplemented by the official records of the Colonial Office. The latter will also include the records of some departmental committees; and, in connexion with the latest phase of Colonial devolution, the relegation of Ireland to Dominion status, the Colonial Office will have the custody of some official materials for a vexed and sinister chapter of British History.

The fiscal relations of Ireland with Great Britain since the Act of Union which are still of interest, are recorded in the archives of the Treasury. Among the questions of Imperial interest dealt with by departmental committees were settlement of ex-service men and oil supplies.

COMMISSION INTERNATIONALE DE RAVITAILLEMENT

See Enemy Supplies, Restriction of, and Board of Trade.

CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION BOARD

This Department was set up by the Government in February 1917 for dealing with claims to increased remuneration by persons employed in the public service, and it may therefore be regarded as the precursor of the Civil Service Whitley Councils and the Arbitration Board of 1919. Its proceedings were directed by the Cabinet.² The records illustrating the procedure of these bodies and of those concerned with the relations between Employers and Employed, notably under the auspices of the Ministries of Labour and Reconstruction, are essential for an exact survey of the attitude and performances of British Labour during the War.

¹ For Blockade see pp. 71, 104-5.

² Cd. 9017 (p. 3) and Cmd. 276.

There is, unfortunately, no assurance that the materials for such a survey have been or will be preserved as fully as the nature of the subject requires.

CENTRAL BOARD OF CONTROL (LUNACY AND MENTAL DEFICIENCY)

This Board may be mentioned here, partly because of its analogy with the Board noticed immediately below, and also to serve as a reminder that a centralized supervision of Mental cases under treatment has been gradually established during the last hundred years.

The ancient procedure of the Masters in Lunacy, as officers of the Chancery, was supplemented in 1845 by the more vigorous action of the Lunacy Commission and this in turn was reconstituted as a Board of Control in 1914.

A report on the Earlier Records of the Board was made by the Public Records Commission.¹ It is under the supervision of the Home Office.

CENTRAL BOARD OF CONTROL (LIQUOR TRAFFIC)

This well-known Board was constituted in June 1915 to establish State control of the Liquor Traffic in areas proclaimed under the Regulations of the Defence of the Realm (Amendment) (No. 3) Act of May 1915. The Local 'Undertakings' of the Board presumably kept Records. The Board had its own Committees, but was in touch with the Ministry of Munitions. No information is available as to the Records preserved in any Archives.

The Board was abolished by the Licensing Act of 1921, and its properties in Carlisle and elsewhere vested in the Home Secretary and the Secretary for Scotland. The records of this Board should be valuable in connexion with an authoritative history of the Liquor Traffic in this country.

BOARD OF CUSTOMS AND EXCISE

In the medieval period the Customs revenue was administered by the Exchequer and continued to be controlled thereby till the nineteenth century. In the seventeenth century the revenue was mostly farmed; but before the Revolution a Customs service had

¹ 1914 Report, Appx. (II), pp. 67, 135.

been established under the Crown. The strategical and economic importance of the revenue during earlier wars would lead us to expect that its records might be of use in connexion with the history of the World War ; but these expectations may prove to be unjustified.

The Excise Service was amalgamated with the Customs establishment in 1909 and was utilized for the distribution of Old Age Pensions before the War. During the War the staff undertook similar duties in connexion with Separation Allowances and other business connected with the War. The records of the Board have been weeded out under nine Statutory Schedules since 1882. Their careful and intelligent custody was commended by the Royal Commission on Public Records.¹

A technical branch of the Excise, the Department of the Government Chemist, is of some interest to Archivists because incidentally it has been consulted as to the ingredients of ink and the consequent durability of modern Records.²

DEVELOPMENT COMMISSION

This department was constituted by the Acts of 1909 and 1910 for the development of Agriculture, Rural Industries, Reclamation and Drainage of Land, and improvement of Harbours and Fisheries. It was also specially concerned with the improvement of Roads.³ Its functions, therefore, might be regarded as analogous to those of the Victorian Land Drainage and Improvement Companies (whose records were formerly preserved by the Boards of Agriculture and Inland Revenue)⁴ or to those of the still existing Public Works Loan Board, appointed in 1817 for the purpose of financing Municipal Authorities in respect of Public Works, and reconstituted by the Public Works Loans Act of 1875.⁵ The activities of the Development Commission itself were chiefly displayed in connexion with the Road Board constituted in 1909 to administer a fund arising out of the taxation of Motors and Petrol.⁶

During the War the activities of the above bodies were naturally

¹ 1914 Report, pp. 1-4, and Appx., pp. 190-1.

² 1912 Report, Appx. (III), p. 53.

³ See below under ' Road Board '.

⁴ P.R.O. Schedules (1913), p. 405, and 1 August 1918 (Inland Revenue).

⁵ Public Record Commission, 1914 Report, p. 34, and Appx. (II).

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 38. This Board is (or was) supervised by the Treasury ; cf. P.R.O. Schedule, 18 February 1919.

curtailed, but they were enormously increased by the exigencies of the period of Reconstruction, especially in connexion with the Housing Schemes financed by the Public Works Loans Board in the year 1920-1. In this connexion it may be noticed that a Building Research Board was established in 1920 by the Scientific and Industrial Research Department to deal with Materials and Cost of Construction. The relations of these Boards with the new Ministries of Reconstruction, Health, and Transport is a matter of some interest as well as of some obscurity. The Boards of earlier date, mentioned above, supply further instances of pre-War departments adapted for carrying out post-War schemes of national Reconstruction.

DISPOSAL AND LIQUIDATION COMMISSION

This department, set up in 1919 for Reconstruction, was established in 1921 to take over the business of the Ministry of Munitions. The general proceedings of the Commission are supplemented by those of a Disposal Board and a Liquidation Committee.

The valueless records of this Commission were disposed of by schedule dated 22 November 1922 and those of the Disposal Branch were further dealt with by schedules dated November 1922 and June 1923.

The Commission should have ceased to exist before 1 April 1924 under the Ministry of Munitions Act, 1921. These records may therefore be regarded as the remainder of the important archives of the Ministry of Munitions. As such their interest is considerable, especially in connexion with the economic problems arising out of the liquidation of the vast accumulation of materials formerly produced or controlled by the Ministry, including those stored in France and Belgium.

RESTRICTION OF ENEMY SUPPLIES DEPARTMENT

This Department was created in June 1916, for the supervision of neutral trade with Holland, Norway, and Iceland, in order to divert supplies from enemy markets in cases not dealt with by the Contraband Department. Agreements for the purchase and control of fish or agricultural supplies were administered by this

Department. Although it was regarded officially as a separate department, its functions may be compared with those of the Trading with the Enemy Branch of the Treasury (1915), the Trading with the Enemy Committee of the Board of Trade, the Enemy Exports Committee of the Foreign Office, and the War Trade and War Trade Intelligence Departments. Of these the Enemy Exports Committee dealt with the origin of cargo and issued licenses for west-bound traffic, and acted as a Court of Preliminary Inquiry for ships whose cargoes did not come up for trial in the Prize Court. In this connexion it may be of interest to notice the operations of another Special Department, the Commission Internationale de Ravitaillement established in August 1914, to facilitate and, incidentally, to regulate the purchase of Supplies in this Country by the Allied Nations. That Commission operated as a branch of the Board of Trade till April 1918, when it was loosely attached to the Foreign Office.

MINISTRY OF FOOD

This Ministry was established in December 1916, and its archives include records of the proceedings of the Royal Commission on the Sugar Supply (1914) and documents of earlier date than 1916 transferred from the Board of Trade, Ministry of Agriculture, and other Departments. The records of the Wheat Commission (1916) should also be preserved here. Those in the custody of the Local Food Control Committees have apparently been scheduled for destruction, with the exception of any Correspondence of special interest. The general activities of the Ministry may also be noticed in the records of the Board of Agriculture, Ministry of Munitions, the Admiralty Transport Department, the Ministry of Shipping, and the Board of Trade. A history of the special activities of the Food Production Department (Board of Agriculture) has been published in this series.

The records of the Ministry of Food dealt with the Production of Food, Foreign Purchases and Transport, Inland Transport and Storage, Distribution, Rationing and Prices of Supplies, negotiations with Manufacturers and Dealers, and Prosecutions for the enforcement of the Act.

The departmental divisions of the Ministry were associated

for the most part with various kinds of food. On the whole its archives may be regarded as of greater economic and social interest than those of any other War Department, and thanks largely to the influence of scholars like Sir William Beveridge, the late Professor Sir E. C. Gonner, and Mr. Stanley Leathes, who were officially connected with the Department, valuable materials have been collected for the elucidation of the economic and social aspects of the World War. This fact will be apparent from a perusal of the Statutory Schedule of valueless documents prepared by a departmental committee under the supervision of the Master of the Rolls' officers (July 1919).

FOREIGN OFFICE

An excellent summary of the early history of this Department is given in the Second Report of the Public Records Commission,¹ from which it may be gathered that, unlike the greater number of the public offices inspected by the Commissioners, the Foreign Office took a real though somewhat haughty pride in its archives, which it even refused to weed at the suggestion of the Record Officers. This was before the World War, and a glance at the establishment will show that during the War the Foreign Office not only enlarged its own borders, but gave hospitality or encouragement to many workers in the national service. It would also appear from a survey of these departmental operations that the resulting Records will be of considerable economic and social value; for the Foreign Office was the Head-quarters of the Economic Blockade of Enemy Countries as well as one of the chief sources of Information or Intelligence and consequent Propaganda. During the period of Reconstruction this Department also made a bold bid for the supreme direction of British Commercial Policy which had formerly been directed by the Board of Trade. No definite information as to the nature or disposal of the War Records under the control of the Foreign Office is yet available, but the authorities have shown a disposition to be helpful to students of the devolution of European diplomacy, and the department itself has been, since the close of the War, a busy workshop for the reconstruction of international peace. It will be evident that its contemporary

¹ pp. 17-18, 176-7.

records must also be regarded as sources for economic as well as diplomatic policy and the Public Records Commission has pointed out the potential value of the earlier Consular records not yet transferred to the central Archives.¹

Although they may be partially duplicated by records of the Foreign Office, the Department of Overseas Trade, and the Board of Trade, the Consular records must be reckoned among the economic sources for history of the World War under such headings as Passports, Course of Trade, Marine Protests, and the Relief of Distress. Among the miscellaneous activities of the Department which are less carefully recorded were the promotion of friendly intercourse with the United States of America and information as to Prisoners of War.

FORESTRY COMMISSION

This Commission was appointed under the Forestry Act (1919), and became a corporation in April 1920. The powers and duties of the Board of Agriculture, the Board of Agriculture for Scotland, and the Department of Agriculture in Ireland, then transferred to the Commission, included the development of afforestation and the production of timber in the United Kingdom, together with the duties with regard to insects and pests destructive to forest trees and timber, formerly exercised by the Board under the Destructive Insects and Pests Acts of 1877 and 1907.

MINISTRY OF HEALTH

This Ministry was established in 1919 taking over under an Act of Parliament the powers and duties of the Local Government, the National Health Insurance Commissioners, and other departmental powers. The Royal Commission on Public Records did not include the National Insurance Commission in its survey of Public Departments in 1912, as it had been established in 1911 for the purpose of administering a single Act. The records of the Ministry of Health which relate to National Insurance are continued from that date. To these should be added the older records of the Local Government Board which represent the powers taken

¹ 1914 Report, Appx. (II), p. 269, and Parliamentary Schedules of November 1920 and June 1923.

over from the Privy Council for the preservation of the Public Health, including Town Planning.¹ Other statutory functions of the Local Government Board do not directly relate to the national Hygiene, and some of these have either devolved upon local Authorities or have been partly transferred to other Departments. The older Records, however, remain in the custody of the Ministry of Health and have been generally described in a Schedule submitted to Parliament, 16 August 1920 (pp. 7-14). It was only natural that the activities inherited by the Ministry of Health would be increased rather than diminished in the course of the World War. National Health Insurance was maintained as far as possible and like Unemployment Insurance formed part of the scheme of Reconstruction after the War. The National Health was jeopardized by the War, and demobilization lent force to a popular demand for an expansion of Housing and the Ministry became responsible for the satisfaction of this demand. New schemes for Public Health and Sanitary Administration also involved a reorganization of Medical Services. In July 1921, a Voluntary Hospitals Commission was appointed, consisting of representatives from the Ministry and of the great voluntary organizations connected with hospitals, together with members of the medical profession. The nature of the records connected with these modern departmental functions may to some extent be ascertained from the Parliamentary Schedule above referred to (pp. 1-7, 14-23) and from the published proceedings of the Ministry.

HOME OFFICE

The evolution of the respective Departments of the Secretaries of State between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries has been traced in several works.² Down to 1794 the Home Office was concerned with every aspect of the Defence of the Realm, but, from that date, the Expeditionary Forces were placed under the control of a Secretary of State who also administered the affairs of the Colonies from 1801 to 1854 when a separate Secretaryship of State for War was established. The Home Office, however, con-

¹ Cf. *Repertory of British Archives*, pp. 95-134.

² Anson, *Law of the Constitution* (3rd. ed.), *The Crown*, i. 158, ii. 58, 82 sq.; H. Hall, *Studies*, pp. 30-43, and *Repertory*, pp. 38-44; cf. 1912 Report of the Public Records Commission, Appx. (II), 14, 15, and 1914 Report, pp. 17-19.

tinued to control the territorial forces down to recent times and, as Minister of Internal Defence, the Home Secretary kept watch for enemies 'within the gate' through the Lords Lieutenants of Counties and the later Police Force.

From 1870 onwards the military responsibilities of the new Secretary of State for War have practically superseded those of the Commander in Chief and the Home Secretary alike.

In one aspect, however, the process of devolution was arrested by the War, the old Alien Office of the Napoleonic Period was re-constituted, while the ancient jurisdiction of the Secretary of State for the administration of Justice and Police was expanded to include such subjects as Internment Camps (Enemy Prisoners of War), Conscientious Objectors,¹ conciliation of malcontent Policemen (Police Federation, 1919), and the Censorship of the Press. There was also an office for the Control of Passenger Traffic with the Continent with Advisory Committees, and Committees were appointed for such memorable institutions as Air Raid Shelters and War Charities.

These activities were facilitated by the decrease of pre-War departmental business (especially in connexion with adult Crime)² and by the transfer of other business (such as the welfare of Mines and Factories) to Special War departments. At the same time the assistance of a score or so of War Committees was provided for and the archives of the Home Office with their famous Registers were temporarily inflated by the manufacture of War Records. In some cases, however, the archives of dependent War Departments remained distinct. For example, the records of the Office of the Press Censor consisted mainly of duplicate proofs of Articles and Photographs submitted for approval. Some of these were censored or suppressed in accordance with official Minutes, Memoranda, or Instructions which have been preserved. The files of proofs, &c., have been destroyed under a Schedule of April 1918. The functions of this Department during the War were distinct from those of the Post Office Censorship under the control of the Military Intelligence division of the War Office (M.I. 5.). It may

¹ These were also dealt with by the Board of Trade and the Ministry of National Service.

² Juvenile delinquency was a subject of anxious consideration towards the close of the war period.

be noted also that the supervision of Aliens by the Home Office was supplemented by the Registrar General's investigation of the constitution of business firms.

MINISTRY OF INFORMATION

Although it is well known that a Department of Information was set up in February 1917, that this was raised to the rank of a Ministry in March 1918, and that it was dissolved at the end of 1918 on the transfer of its activities and records chiefly to the Foreign Office (News Department), this statement and the particulars contained in a departmental paper of 1918 (Cmd. 9161) do not fully explain the constitution of this department nor the vicissitudes of its archives. For example, although the Minister of Information had subscribed the Rules made by the Master of the Rolls under the Public Record Office Act of 1877, the Archives of his Department appear to have been disposed of without the sanction of a Parliamentary Schedule and no means exist of reconstructing their contents. Moreover, the constitution and proceedings of a branch of the Ministry which operated at Crewe House require explanation in view of the publication by private enterprise of some portions of its very interesting records. Again, other records of the Ministry seem to have been transferred to the Imperial War Museum or given to foreign institutions.

It is noted below that branches dealing with Intelligence on various subjects were established in other Departments. This Intelligence might be political or statistical, and it was often of considerable economic or social value.

The Archives of the Ministry itself were necessarily of an unusual nature as it was concerned among other subjects with Cinematographs, Literature, and Art, and even with propaganda by means of personal suggestion or mechanical distribution. The main arrangement was apparently a geographical one. The section concerned with Intelligence must have worked on parallel lines with the Intelligence and Censorship Departments of the War Office, Foreign Office, Home Office, and the War Trade Intelligence Department of the Ministry of Blockade. The domestic propaganda may also be compared with the productions of the publicity branches of the Ministry of Food or of the National

War Aims Committee and less markedly with the publications of the several departmental Historical Sections.

It has been suggested elsewhere in this work that the prodigious output of War records was due to a want of co-ordination of the War Departments. It has also been suggested that the historical justification of the allied cause might with advantage have been prepared by the collaboration of historical scholars in each country. However this may be it must be evident that a department which should have been a great intellectual force on the side of the Allies has left few traces of its proceedings for the information of the historians present or to come.

THE BOARD OF INLAND REVENUE

Although the modern Board was only established in 1849 and has been since reconstituted, it is concerned with the administration of several historic branches of the national revenue. The economic interest of the fluctuations of the Income Tax, Super Tax, and Excess Profits Duty during the War and the subsequent period of Reconstruction is obvious, while the War also affected the incidence of such taxes as the Stamp Duty (refunded for Marriage Licenses of Soldiers and Sailors) and Death Duties. Finally, the subjects of Land Valuation and the registration of Joint Stock Companies are of immediate economic interest.¹

Most of these records are regarded as confidential by virtue of statutory provisions ; but this should not prevent their official use for statistical purposes on an adequate scale, to the advantage of students of the economic history of the War.

THE MINISTRY OF LABOUR

This Department was established by the New Ministries Act of 1916 (6 & 7 Geo. V, *c.* 68) which transferred to the Labour Minister various powers and duties of the Board of Trade relating to Conciliation (1896), Labour Exchanges (1909), Trade Boards (1909), National Insurance (Unemployment) (1911-16), and Munitions of War (1915). The exercise of the above powers and duties dates from 11 January 1917 ; and they were supplemented, under the provisions of the Act, by such other powers and duties relating to

¹ For a description of these departmental agencies and their respective archives see 1914 Report of Public Records Commission, p. 27, and Appx. (II), pp. 127, 163, and 191.

Labour and Industry as might be conferred by Statute or transferred by Order in Council. Under the latter head are included some remaining powers and duties of the Board of Trade relating to Munitions of War (1915 and 1916) and the collection of Labour Statistics together with those of the Ministry of Pensions relating to training or employment of disabled officers and men or of their dependents. Under the former head the duties of the Ministry of Labour were further enlarged by legislation relating to Trade Boards (1918), Wages Regulation (1918-19), Industrial Courts (1919), and Unemployment Insurance (1920).

In 1917 the functions of the Ministry of Labour were supplemented by taking over the work of Joint Industrial Councils (Whitley Report). The records connected with the Industrial Relations Department, the Employment and Insurance Department, the Solicitor's Department, and the Trade Boards Division of the Ministry also include many of a quasi-judicial character, elucidating the constitution and procedure of various Commissions, Committees, Boards, Courts, and Tribunals.

Another special feature of the ministerial archives is due to the special development of its Intelligence and Statistics Division, including Publicity arrangements. The records of the Training and Appointments Departments, the Employment Exchanges, the Civil Liabilities Division, and the Joint Substitution Board of this Ministry and the Treasury, also present some features of special interest.

The archives of the Ministry appear to include those of the 'Divisional' or other Provincial offices. The papers of the Employment Exchanges are represented by a large collection in the Record Office at Kew. The Unemployment Insurance Umpire is not under the direction of the Ministry.

It should also be noted that some of the records of this Ministry elucidate the history or procedure of other Departments or may in turn be elucidated by the latter (e. g. Board of Trade, Ministries of Health, Pensions, Munitions, National Service, Reconstruction, and the Labour divisions of the Admiralty and War Office.)

The only available information of any value as to the state of the existing archives is contained in a statutory schedule laid before Parliament in 1921. There is also a brief report of an

inspection of the Registries by the Royal Commission on Public Records in October 1917. From the schedule in question we gather that certain classes of these records will be permanently preserved; but it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that, unless adequate specimens are kept of the still larger mass of records to be destroyed, an intelligent reconstruction and use of the remaining records will be a matter of considerable difficulty owing to the overlapping of Departmental functions and the diffusion of Departmental archives.

In view of the great importance of Labour questions during the War and the constitutional significance of the records of the new Ministry, it is not enough to preserve isolated files of its proceedings and decisions. The economic historian of the World War will need to understand the relations of these 'weeded' records with those which illustrate the daily routine of the Department; and it is very desirable that materials for such a reconstruction should be available.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD

This Board, now absorbed by the Ministry of Health,¹ was established in 1871 to administer those functions of the Privy Council which had been exercised by the Poor Law Commission of 1834, the Poor Law Board of 1847, the Public Health Board of 1848, the Medical Department of the Privy Council Office, and the Local Government Act Office of the Home Department.

The development of the Department is intimately connected with the History of British Local Government. The records of its departmental activities before the War are described in the Second Report of the Royal Commission on Public Records (1914) (see Index) and in the *Repertory of British Archives* (1920) (pp. 95-134).

During the earlier years of the War, and before its absorption into the Ministry of Health (in 1919), this Department was largely occupied in regulating the procedure of the local authorities and was responsible for the management of several War Commissions or Committees, especially those concerned with the care of War

¹ See above, pp. 72-3. For a full account of the functions of the Board see its 48th Report (1918-19), Cmd. 413; and cf. S. and B. Webb, *op. cit.*, p. 554.

Refugees and the Prevention and Relief of Distress among various classes of the community (Civil Liabilities, &c.).

A War Refugees' Department was formed in 1914 to administer the relief assigned from public funds to Belgium and other refugees from invaded territories. The policy and proceedings of the department are described in printed Reports of the Board, and this fact was considered by the Board a sufficient reason for the destruction of the Correspondence of the department with Local Committees or Voluntary Associations, Transport agencies, and Public Offices. The dossiers relating to individual cases have also been destroyed, but Card Indexes and Statistics have been kept from which and from the main Account Books or from printed Finance Statements the operations of the Local Committees and Bureaux de Reception can be realized. Specimens of documents destroyed have been kept. Lists of repatriated Refugees were filed in the central archives of the Board.

The Local Government Board was also concerned with the earlier phases of Housing and Road Maintenance during the War and with the collection of intelligence regarding the conditions prevalent throughout the country as a result of the War. The information thus collected should be of considerable value. The Board even appointed (in 1916) a Committee on Wheat Conservation in connexion with the preparation and use of flour.

Its superintendence of the preparation of the Register of National Service (1915) by the General Register Office will be mentioned under that title. Reference has also been made in another chapter of this work (p. 41) to the responsibility of the Board for the officious activities of various minor bodies in connexion with the so-called Salvage of Waste Paper, including the unintelligent collection of old records to serve as materials for paper. The reckless destruction of Local Records through this agency will be found to affect the economic and social history of the War, as well as the early history of national institutions; but the full extent of the mischief is at present unknown. A Schedule of valueless Records was submitted to Parliament in July 1917, from which, and from the Reports of the Public Records Commissioners¹ it may

¹ See the evidence of Mr. Sidney Webb, 1919 Report, Part III, pp. 10-17. For the Local Records of this Board see below, pp. 184-88. The general nature of the

be gathered that the Archives of this Department and its local branches contained a great quantity and variety of materials for the economic and social conditions of the country, relating to Pauperism and Poor Relief, Public Health, Local Taxation, Local Inquiries, relief of distress, accommodation in emergencies and Local Government legislation or Departmental Orders, generally. In common with other collections of Local administrative Records these archives were subjected to considerable disturbance during the War apart from the destruction of papers above referred to.

MEDICAL RESEARCH COUNCIL

The former Medical Research Committee, established in 1914 under the National Health Act, was incorporated as the Medical Research Council in April 1920, under the direction of a Committee of the Privy Council. The Council is financed partly by Parliament and partly by private donations, and publishes reports of its work for the furtherance of medical research. Various specialized departments are connected with this Council, notably the Industrial Fatigue Research Board, the National Collection of Type Cultures, and the National Institute of Medical Research, which has several experimental branches. Such Records as are preserved by these Departments will be valuable for economic and social researches.

MINISTRY OF MUNITIONS OF WAR

Although the authority and powers of this Ministry were paramount both during the War and the subsequent period of Reconstruction, and although it has left its traces in the Archives of many other Departments, the bulk of the departmental Archives relate to the production of munitions. Indirectly these records of the activities of more than fifty branch departments should furnish valuable information relating to the employment of labour and the supply of industrial materials and products during the War, as well as for their reorganization and redistribution after the War. This Ministry ceased to exist from 31 March 1921 and as previously mentioned it was replaced by a Disposal and Liquidation Commission which was timed to expire in March 1924.

Records which have been preserved, as well as of those officially destroyed, can be gathered from the Schedule prepared by the Ministry of Health (see above, p. 73).

Further information on the subject of its activities is furnished by the Archives of the Ministries of Labour, National Service, Reconstruction, and of the Board of Trade.

The Records of the Ministry of Munitions have been weeded under Schedules of February 1919 and July 1920, and those of the Disposal and Liquidation Commission have been dealt with in the continuing Schedules.¹ All documents of importance or interest will be preserved, including Minutes of Committees and Sub-committees. An exhaustive Official History of the Department has been prepared, and reference is made to this in the Third Report (1919) of the Royal Commission on Public Records (Part II, pp. 123 and 130).

MINISTRY OF NATIONAL SERVICE

A department of National Service was established in 1916 (December), and this was reconstituted as a Ministry in March 1917. The official scope of the Ministry included industrial and many other forms of National Service besides Military Service. The supervision of Conscientious Objectors was, however, referred to the Home Office and Board of Trade successively, and the relations of the Ministry with Labour was largely influenced by the intervention of the Ministry of Labour and various Government Committees, and its relations with the Ministries of Food and Agriculture were also close. The records of the Ministry have therefore been to some extent distributed in other archives. A description of the proceedings taken for their disposal is contained in Schedules of 1919 and following years. On the military side, the bulk of the records of the Ministry will be found among the archives of the local authorities, and the main record extant is the Register preserved by the Registrar-General (Somerset House). Reference has been made to this great record of the nation's service in the War under the Department last mentioned; but it may be observed further that in no case was the compilation and preservation of War Records more generally desired, or more fully carried out, during the crisis of the War itself and even, to some extent, during the period of Reconstruction. But with the confusion and disillusionment that

¹ See above, under 'Disposal and Liquidation'.

followed the application of reconstructive measures, a revolution of sentiment can be noticed which eventually led to a drastic revision of the records of the Ministry. Perhaps one of the most interesting problems connected with the value and use of the War Records is based on the relative extent of the materials which exist for a description of the national service performed by the several belligerent nations in respect of the economic and social requirements of the war period.

DEPARTMENT OF OVERSEAS TRADE

As this Department was established in September 1917 under the joint control of the Board of Trade and the Foreign Office for the development of British trade and for providing intelligence likely to advance that object,¹ it has usually occupied an independent position. It was constituted by amalgamating the Board of Trade Commercial Intelligence Department with the Foreign Trade Department of the Foreign Office, and it was administered by the Board of Trade and Foreign Office, jointly, under an Act of 1918.

The Board of Trade's Commercial Intelligence Department was constituted in 1916 by throwing together the Commercial Intelligence and Exhibition Branches of the Board. The former dates from 1899 (Cd. 8962), and in its general principles from a much earlier date. The latter was established between 1906 (Cd. 3772) and 1909 (Cd. 6609). Since 1870 the diplomatic functions of the Board have been discharged by the Foreign Office, and the system of commercial intelligence was the subject of Reports by an Advisory Committee and by Departmental Committees appointed before and during the War (Cd. 8815 of 1917). Since the War (1919) the subject has engaged the attention of the War Cabinet (Cmd. 319).

Trivial correspondence and ephemeral statements relating to the course or requirements of overseas trade are weeded under a Schedule submitted to Parliament in August 1920, all important papers and original information being preserved. The Parliamentary Schedule indicates, generally, the departmental procedure of this offshoot from the Board of Trade.

¹ Cf. Cd. 8715, and below, pp. 94-5.

MINISTRY OF PENSIONS

Like the Admiralty and War Office, with their affinities, the Ministry of Pensions was an essential department in connexion with the World War. Previously to the establishment of the Ministry, a War Pensions Statutory Committee was constituted in 1915, but this was dissolved and its powers were transferred to the Ministry of Pensions by Act of Parliament in August 1917. The Ministry itself had been in existence since December 1916. In 1920 its functions were curtailed by the War Pensions Act, which retransferred non-war cases to other departments. The various departments of the Ministry included, on the one side, the general branches of Finance, Local Administration, Statistics, and Medical Service, with various branches concerned with special services.¹ There was, in addition, an Appeal Tribunal connected with the Ministry.

Both the Royal Commission on Public Records² and the Treasury Committee on Staffs³ expressed themselves as dissatisfied with the system adopted by the Registration and Index Record Branches, and this does not augur well for the preservation of the Records. The Ministry, has, moreover, made itself responsible for the Records of all the Local War Pensions Committees, Hospital Committees and Appeal Boards, and a very considerable bulk of documents will therefore ultimately accrue.⁴

H.M. PETROLEUM EXECUTIVE

The Department bearing this high-sounding title was set up in August 1917 and was responsible for the policy of the Government in respect of the distribution of petroleum and its products, as well as for the co-ordination of departmental regulations in this connexion.

The control of petrol supplies and the issue of licences for its use by the public were dealt with by the Petrol Control, an Emergency Department of the Board of Trade. No information as to the Records of the Petroleum Executive appears to be available.

¹ For example, the pavilion erected in the garden of Clifford's Inn (which is such a familiar object to readers at the Public Record Office) for the manufacture of glass eyes under the supervision of the British Optical Society.

² 1919 Report, Appx. (V), p. 122.

³ Cd. 9220, p. 10.

⁴ Schedules were presented to Parliament in 1923 and 1924.

PRISONERS OF WAR DEPARTMENT

The location and relief of British Prisoners of War in Enemy Countries was a matter of national concern, and a separate Department with the above title was constituted by Minute of the War Committee, dated 26 October 1916. It had previously been a sub-department of the Foreign Office.

A Prisoners' of War Information Bureau was set up at the War Office in August 1914, and a Directorate of Prisoners of War in February 1915, connected later with the War Graves Directorate. In association with the Prisoners of War Department was an Interdepartmental Committee. A Government Committee on the Treatment of Prisoners of War by the Enemy was also appointed. In connexion with the objects of the British Red Cross Society, a Prisoners of War Help Committee was founded in 1914 and established as a War Office Committee in March 1915, for the purpose of supplementing the food supplied to British prisoners in enemy countries. It was dissolved in September 1916, and was replaced by the Central Prisoners of War Committee, to regulate supplies which might be utilized by the enemy.¹ The new organization was provided with a Records department for registering the addresses of Prisoners in Germany or Austria. A voluminous and continuous official correspondence was kept up with these prisoners, and the records of the Department were both extensive and varied in their nature.

From the beginning of the War inquiries for missing soldiers were frequent, and their increasing number and urgency led to the formation of a Wounded and Missing Inquiry Department of the British Red Cross Society which was established in Paris and elsewhere in August 1914. Head-quarters in London were established in April 1915, and from July 1916 the Department began, in close touch with the Casualty Department of the War Office, to compile a systematic list of prisoners of war. The Records of this Department (which are extensive and interesting) have been transmitted to the Archives of the Red Cross Society, and comprise correspondence and Reports of Casualties in (*a*) France and Flanders, (*b*) the Mediterranean, 1914-19, with

¹ See below (Chap. V), under 'British Red Cross Society'.

complete Records, from 1914 to 1920. Records relating to other fronts will be found among the Records of the British Red Cross Society under the headings of the several Foreign Commissions.

The supervision of enemy prisoners of war and of civilians interned in this country was carried out by the Home Office in conjunction with the War Office, and the employment of enemy prisoners was regulated by the War Office with the co-operation of the local authorities.

GENERAL POST OFFICE (LONDON)

It is often forgotten that the Post Office with its seventeenth-century establishment and records, and its still earlier traditions, has borne the stress of many European wars and has once more played its part in the dissemination or interception of military or economic intelligence and political or social propaganda. Fortunately the Post Office authorities have always paid much attention to the custody of their Records,¹ and the future students of the History of the World War will again have cause for gratitude in this connexion. At the same time it will be found that the former intervention of the Secretaries of State's Departments for the utilization of these services has been still further developed. The interpretation and regulation of intelligence was entrusted to specialized branches of the War Office, Admiralty, Home Office, and Foreign Office, while the distribution of propaganda was shared by the new Ministry of Information. The main Records of these war-time functions will not therefore be found in the Archives of the Post Office; but the latter will afford interesting evidence of new activities in regard to the payment of War Pensions, Separation Allowances, War Savings Certificates, and other essential services of the State militant. Again the Post Office has borne its share of anxious deliberation and inevitable odium in the discharge of its duty as a revenue department to levy increased charges in aid of the necessities of the State arising out of the World War.

The Records of this departmental business will be found in

¹ See 1914 Report of Public Records Commission, p. 27, for the remarks of the Commissioners on this subject, and Appx. (II), p. 192.

the Archives of the Post Office itself and among the head-quarters papers of the revenue in the Treasury.

The contents of the archives of the General Post Office itself are described generally in the Report referred to above, and may also be inferred from the official list contained in five statutory Schedules published in 1913. In addition to these records some interesting books, autographs, and objects of antiquarian interest have been collected in the Department and are exhibited there. The historical literature of the subject is valuable and has been largely based on original sources.

PRIVY COUNCIL OFFICE

The place of the Tudor and Stuart Council, which affected every phase of the national life, was taken by the Secretariat and Treasury during the eighteenth century, and in the nineteenth century its judicial and administrative functions were largely exercised by Committees or departmental Boards. At the same time the formal procedure of the Privy Council Office was continued by way of Orders in Council and Proclamations.

The ancient records of the Privy Council have been described in well-known works of reference,¹ and those of more recent times were investigated by the Public Records Commission.² The accruing records have been further described in a Schedule submitted to Parliament in March 1919. From these sources of information it will be found that the records mainly comprise materials for, or correspondence relating to, Orders in Council issued at the instance of Government Departments, local authorities and universities, &c., together with papers connected with judicial appeals and miscellaneous business, much of this material being printed.

During the War the functions of the Privy Council were to some extent replaced by Provisional Orders issued by the Departments with the authority of emergency legislation; but the famous Registers of the department would contain many references to matters of national and international importance, including some of economic and social interest.

¹ e. g. Andrews and Davenport, *Minor London Archives*, pp. 170-85 (Carnegie Institution, 1908).

² 1914 Report, p. 16, and Appx. (II), pp. 50, 107, 174, and Minutes of Evidence.

PUBLIC TRUSTEE OFFICE

This institution, established in 1908, was at first regarded as an encroachment on the professional interests of solicitors, and neither its utility nor prosperity seemed admissible. During the War, however, it provided a valuable organization for dealing with Enemy Property in accordance with the provisions of the Trading with the Enemy Amendment Acts (1914-18), and a branch office was established for this purpose in 1914 (at Cornwall House, Blackfriars), with the title of the 'Trading with the Enemy Department', in three divisions, concerned with German, Austrian, and Bulgarian claims respectively.¹

The Royal Commission on Public Records failed to obtain any information as to the pre-War archives of the Public Trustee. The War Records of the Enemy Trade departments were, however, obviously of a public nature. In fact this department, like the Prisoners of War Inquiry Branch of the Red Cross, provided one of the few amenities of warfare in connexion with the machinery for the liquidation and reparation of enemy property.

The procedure in respect of claims by British subjects for the recovery of debts from subjects of these enemy countries or from their respective Governments was based upon the treaties of peace concluded in each case.² The main records of the department are the proofs of claims put in and the Awards delivered by the Mixed Arbitral Tribunals in each case. Action was taken by the Administration Department on the Awards which ranked for dividend.

The Public Trustee was not concerned with the liquidation of the debts of Russia, this matter having been referred to a Government Committee, reconstituted in June 1918.

THE MINISTRY OF RECONSTRUCTION

This Department was constituted as a Cabinet Committee in 1916, and was established by Act of Parliament in August 1917

¹ In its constitutional aspect the recovery of foreign debts was within the province of the Foreign Office, which maintained a Foreign Claims Office and a Foreign Trade Department. The Treasury has also been credited with the management of a Trading with the Enemy Branch established in 1915. In the official calendars for 1922 mention is made of Branches for 'Reparation Claims' and a 'Clearing Office for Enemy Debts' at Cornwall House.

² The procedure of the Department generally was referred to in Notices published through the Post Office.

to consider and advise upon the problems which might arise out of the War and which might have to be dealt with upon its termination. The new Ministry took over the powers and duties of two successive Reconstruction Committees (1916 and 1917), organized as advisory departments, assisted by various committees dealing with such problems as Demobilization, Resettlement, Industrial Relations, the development of Forests, the Settlement of the Land, Coal Conservation, &c.

The Ministry thus constituted gave rise in turn to a number of specialized committees with an elaborate Advisory Council. The activities of several of these committees were shared or have been continued by other official bodies in respect of Housing, Forestry, Agriculture, Disposal of War Stores, &c., but the general results were ephemeral and may be regarded as negligible in respect of the archives of the War, inasmuch as the records of the departmental sections dealing with such questions as Commerce and Production, Labour and Industrial Organizations, Agriculture, and various economic and social developments have been transferred to the respective departmental authorities.

The records of the several departmental Committees might, however, be of considerable interest.

GENERAL REGISTER OFFICE

The pre-War records of this statutory registry have been described in the Reports of the Royal Commission on Public Records, and its special functions during the War have been referred to on a previous page of this work. The earliest and most important of these war-time duties was that of administering the National Registration Act of 1915, under which the whole adult male population was registered for national service.

The work of registration was carried out under the general authority of Orders issued by the Local Government Board. Apart from the special scheme of enumeration devised for this purpose, personal certificates of registration were issued, and the Register had to be maintained largely by the exertions of the local registration authorities. Moreover local registration was supplemented by a central register for persons without a fixed permanent address.

The National Register was utilized not only for recruiting purposes, but also for the organization of Industry, a use facilitated by a system of 'occupational coding'. At the same time the Register soon became defective for want of an automatic revision of the names of all persons liable to be registered from time to time, as well as through the existence of loopholes for evasion. Until 1918 the Register was not used as an instrument for conscription; but in February 1918 an amending Act made it available for that purpose and extended its application to the *post nati*. Recruiting had already been transferred to the Ministry of National Service since November 1917, and the War Office Records of recruiting were revised and a complete change was made in the official systems employed by the local registration authorities and the National Service departments. At the expiration of the War, the materials for the National Register preserved at the General Register Office (now the National Register Branch of the Ministry of Health) were destroyed under a statutory Schedule. Statistical summaries are preserved and particulars of men liable to military service under the Military Service Acts are recorded in the National Service registers preserved at the Ministry of Pensions. In view of this compromise it is curious to remember that during the War the vindication of the National Register was passionately desired, not only in order to exact retribution for military backsliding, but to furnish a permanent certificate of national service.

A separate branch of the General Register Office was concerned with the administration of another war measure, the Registration of Business Names (1916), which has ceased to exist, but which should have preserved some instructive records.

THE ROAD BOARD

This was a pre-War department established by the Development and Road Improvement Lands Act of 1909. Its records include plans and engineering schemes for road-making and experiments in materials and construction which are of considerable interest in connexion with the impulse given to road transport by the experience of the war period.

Even during the War two Committees were set up which, in

1917, practically and, in 1918, definitely took over the special functions which the Road Board had undertaken since August 1914 for the construction and repair of roads for military purposes.

The Road Stone Control Committee was appointed in August 1917 under D.O.R. Regulation of 13 March 1917, with the object of limiting supplies of road materials to roads that were essential for military purposes ; transport being saved by utilizing local quarries.

The Joint Roads Committee, composed of representatives of military departments, took over on 1 November 1918 the war work of the Road Board of 1908, including assessments for damage payable to local highway authorities.

The Records of these important committees were not apparently included among the permanent Records of the Road Board referred to in a Schedule made under the Public Record Office Acts in 1919. In view of the interest attaching to the history of the King's Highway,¹ it may be hoped that they have been preserved. Much information as to the proceedings of these Committees may, however, be found in the Eighth Report of the Road Board for 1916-17 and in the Ninth Report for 1917-18.

THE ROYAL HOUSEHOLD

Immediately before the War, the Archives of the principal departments of the Royal Household were inspected and reported on by the Royal Commission on Public Records.² These included, besides the departments under the jurisdiction of the Lord Steward, Lord Chamberlain, and Master of the Horse, the Almonry, the Chapels Royal, and the Corps of Gentlemen Pensioners and Yeomen of the Guard, besides the so-called ' Household Troops ', and the College of Arms.

The deplorable state of most of these historic records which, in other custody have furnished historians with valuable materials for the economic and social conditions of an earlier period, moved the Royal Commissioners to make a spirited remonstrance, to which reference has been made elsewhere in this work, in connexion with the potential interest of the Household Records during the World War.³

¹ Cf. S. and B. Webb, *The King's Highway*.

² 1914 Report and Appendices.

³ Below, p. 239-40.

NATIONAL SALVAGE COUNCIL

The useful operations of the Army Salvage Branch¹ of the War Office were extended by the establishment of an official body approved by the War Cabinet in February 1918 and operating with the above title under the direction of representatives of six Public Departments chiefly concerned. It appears, however, from the *Board of Trade Journal* (7 March 1918, p. 273) that this body was to be set up in the Department of the Surveyor General of Supply (War Office). Eventually it came to some extent under the supervision of the War Office. The head-quarters of the National Salvage Council were at Caxton Hall (Westminster). It concerned itself largely with conserving the supply of paper,² and reference to these activities has been made elsewhere in this work.³ They were the subject of investigation and protest by the Royal Commission on Public Records when its Final Report was signed in April 1918.⁴

No information seems to be available as to the Records of the Council, and their final disposition must share the obscurity which overhangs the fate of the War Records compiled after the dissolution of the Royal Commission on Public Records.

DEPARTMENT OF SCIENTIFIC AND INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH

This Department replaced, in 1916, a Committee set up to direct the application of grants of public money for the advancement of Scientific and Industrial Research, with an Advisory Council. In connexion with these researches, the National Physical Laboratory (established 1899) was maintained by the Department in 1918. The general control of the Laboratory continued to be exercised by a Board composed of members of the Royal Society and the Technical Institute, with an Executive Committee. A Fuel Research Board was appointed in February 1917, with a Fuel Research Station at Greenwich (1918). A Food Investigation Board was established in 1918. There is no information available respecting the records of the above bodies, which

¹ There was also a Salvage Branch of the Ministry of Munitions.

² The Council encroached upon the operations of the Controller of Paper (Board of Trade). See below, Board of Trade Emergency Departments, s.t.

³ pp. 24-5.

⁴ Below, pp. 236-7.

must not be confused with the Admiralty Committee on War Inventions mentioned above.¹

MINISTRY OF SHIPPING

To the archivist unversed in the procedure of the Public Departments in war time the relations of the several official bodies concerned with the direction of British merchant shipping might not be easily distinguished. In the first place there were several divisions of the Admiralty, a Transport Office and Arbitration Board; a department of Auxiliary Shipbuilding (afterwards the department of Merchant Shipbuilding), a Requisitioning Branch, and a Port and Transit Committee. The Admiralty, indeed, could claim a departmental prescription, for its Transport Board was established in 1689 and was reconstituted in 1794. Under the control of the Admiralty there was also the Auxiliary Shipping included among the Naval Reserves and Coast Guard Service, and reminding us of the Hired Armed Vessels of the Napoleonic wars. Then there was the Board of Trade with its Marine Department, responsible for the administration of the Merchant Shipping Act of 1854, and its Registry of Merchant Shipping and Seamen which had preserved records of the capacity and personnel of this great national service from a still earlier date; while the unofficial registry at Lloyd's, with eighteenth-century traditions, supplied equally authentic information as to their distribution and proceedings.

At the same time these earlier Departments, even when reinforced by special Departments or Committees, were not sufficiently centralized or co-ordinated to enable them to deal with the vital problems of transport and transit consequent on the discovery of new factors of naval supremacy; and so the Ministry of Shipping was established under the Act of 22 December 1916, taking over the earlier functions of the Admiralty and Board of Trade, while its own functions were supplemented in turn by the Department of the Controller-General of Auxiliary Shipbuilding, reconstituted in 1918. The History of this impor-

¹ Whatever may have been the scientific value or provenance of such records, the fact that they were produced by the expenditure of public money would make such documents 'records of a public nature'. The difficulty of access to military records of the War of American Independence, which came into the possession of the Royal Institution, will not be easily forgotten by historical students.

tant Ministry, written by a gifted member of the staff, has been published in this series. No detailed description of its records has appeared; but an official note of their nature and extent is included in the Third Report of the Public Records Commission (1919), from which we may glean the following particulars. The Records of the old Transport Department have not been removed from the Admiralty. The Records of the Transport Department, from 1914 to 1916 inclusive, were preserved by the Ministry of Shipping at Bridgewater House. The departmental Records after May 1917 were preserved at the Ministry of Shipping and were filed in numerical series containing papers relating to ships and general correspondence with the respective Registers. A Schedule of valueless Records is in preparation by the statutory Committee. This would not include the archives of related Committees, &c., such as the Mercantile Conciliation Committee, the National Marine Board, and the Port and Transit Committees, which will probably share the fate of earlier naval records investigated by the Public Record Commission of 1910.

STATIONERY OFFICE

This Department was established in 1786 and possessed Records from that date in 1912. Like the Office of Works it renders valuable services with courtesy and dispatch, but like those of other Departments of the Civil Service the members of its staff are unversed in the economy and bibliography of archives. The Public Records Commission reported that the management of the Record Office publications by officials unacquainted with their nature and use was prejudicial to the interests of historical students.¹ In particular, the disposal of valueless documents by this agency seems to have been attended by grave disadvantages.² It remains to be seen whether the departmental records for the War period are adequate and whether the official publications for the same period are systematically preserved and catalogued. It is, however, only fair to remark that the functions of the Department are concerned especially with the publication and distribution of official matter which has a political and ephemeral rather than a scholarly or permanent interest; while the

¹ 1912 Report, pp. 30-1, and Appx. (II), pp. 75-104.

² *Ibid.*, p. 20.

economical supply of materials for the making of records is a more important feature of its official activities than the disposal of the resulting documents. In the existing circumstances therefore, it is scarcely reasonable to expect that either the bibliography or the collection of the official literature of the World War will be materially assisted in this direction.

BOARD OF TRADE

The records of the old Board of Trade from 1696 to 1784 (including earlier Councils or Committees between 1660 and 1696) are preserved at the Public Record Office or in private custody. The records of the existing Board are also preserved at the Public Record Office from 1784 to 1839. The records from 1840 to 1914 have not yet been transferred to the Record Office. In 1912 they were found by the Royal Commission on Public Records distributed in various departmental repositories in the neighbourhood of Whitehall.¹

Down to the Victorian period the Board continued to be largely concerned with the direction of commercial relations, and the control of trade was chiefly exercised by the Privy Council and Secretaries of State. In 1832 the work of the Board of Trade was distributed among several large and permanent departments, representing the growing importance of Railways, Harbours, the Mercantile Marine, Public Utilities (Gas, Light, Water, &c.), and Company undertakings (including Bankruptcy). Later, these divisions of the Office were reinforced by external and semi-independent departments concerned with Patents and Trade Marks, Merchant Shipping, Joint-Stock Companies, and Standards.²

On the other hand, the Board was gradually losing its hold upon the departmental business connected with commercial intercourse in spite of the fact that it continued to record and notify the progress of British trade in various statistical publications. In February 1918 a new establishment was prepared in which the old Commercial Department was reconstituted as the Department of Commerce and Industry with, later, an Advisory Council and several new divisions for commercial relations and treaties, including such titles as 'Overseas Trade', 'Industries and

¹ Second Report, Appx., p. 129.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 168-70.

Manufactures', 'Industrial Property', 'Industrial Power and Transport'. Of these the Department of Overseas Trade was worked jointly with the Foreign Office. Moreover a temporary 'Industrial (War Inquiries) Branch' was superseded by a 'General Economic Department', and a great 'Department of Public Administration' was set up to include the old divisions concerned with the administration of the Acts relating to railways (Marine, Merchant Shipping, Harbours, Public Utility Companies, &c.) in addition to those concerned merely with Finance and Establishment.

The necessary subordination of individual Commercial interests to the national service during the War was followed during the period of reconstruction after the War by further changes which tended to transfer the supervision of Overseas Trade and Internal Transport to specialized departments (see Overseas Trade Department and Transport Ministry).

The modern archives of the Board of Trade have been generally described in the Second Report (1914) of the Royal Commission on Public Records¹ and more particularly described in statutory Schedules presented to Parliament (4 July 1919) under the Public Record Office Act of 1877. The pre-War records enable us to trace the historical evolution of the Department and to estimate the extent of the nation's economic preparedness for the War. The most valuable are those of the Statistical Department, which include the confidential returns for the Census of Production and Particulars of Imports and Exports. Next to these come the Papers of the Commercial Relations and Treaty Department.

Although it is understood that all documents of permanent value will be preserved, the selection will not be made by historical experts and, in these circumstances, it is almost inevitable that many records elucidating the economic history of the War must perish. At the same time the Statutory Committee and the departmental officers in charge of records have taken such measures as were within their power to reduce these losses to the lowest possible dimensions. The Master of the Rolls and the President of the Board of Trade are now responsible for seeing that these undertakings are duly carried out.

¹ Appx. (II), pp. 25-8, 129, 194; Appx. (III), pp. 82-3.

During the War the activities of the Board of Trade were also largely supplemented by various Committees or Boards controlling national industries or commerce. These bodies were usually administered by the establishment of the Board of Trade, to which they were subordinated. As usual, however, official quarters for the staff were provided in some remote thoroughfare and the records were in danger of being regarded as separate collections, though, on the whole, they were probably more systematically dealt with than those of other outlying departments.¹ The functions of the more important of the 'Emergency Departments' of the Board of Trade in respect of the economic and social archives are briefly described below, and others are included in the statutory Schedules provided for Board of Trade Emergency Departments of which the following are, perhaps, the most important.

COAL MINES DEPARTMENT.

For some months prior to September (or December) 1916, Lord Milner acted as Government Supervisor of the Supply and Distribution of Coal, being Chairman of a Select Committee for this purpose.² A controller of Coal Mines was appointed by the Board of Trade to deal with the problems of the supply, transport, and distribution of coal, following the inquiries of a Departmental Committee (Cd. 7866 and Cd. 8070) and an Export Licencing Committee in 1915. The Coal Mines Department supplied the chief materials for the Reports of the Coal Industry Commission of 1920, and its activities are fully described in the volume by Sir Richard Redmayne in this series. It is believed that all important Minutes, Reports, Correspondence, Accounts, and all Papers or Statistics of historical or official value have been preserved. These records³ deal with the price, supply, stocks, shipping, and export of Coal, the Economy of its use, Labour production and Colliery development, Pit-wood, Pit-horses, and

¹ This was largely due to the interest and devotion of Mr. R. Lister, Librarian to the Board of Trade and a keen antiquary.

² The individual Departments or committees of the Board of Trade which functioned during the war period are of course very numerous, and some not noticed here may be of economic and social interest like the Committee on Oranges restricting the supply of marmalade. The Home Office was also concerned with Mines.

³ *Board of Trade Journal*, 10 January 1918 (p. 3); Cd. 9084 (p. 43).

the local administration of the Household Fuel and Lighting Order (1918).

A Household Fuel and Lighting Branch was set up in 1918, to ration the domestic consumption of fuel and light in view of the shortage of coal supplies during the War and the conversion of gas to military uses. The Statutory Orders issued for this purpose in 1918 and 1919 were administered by Local Fuel Overseers. The records of this Branch have a social as well as an economic interest. Selections and summaries have been preserved at the Board of Trade.

COTTON CONTROL BOARD (MANCHESTER).

Set up in June 1917 by departmental orders, under the Defence of the Realm Regulations, to administer a scheme for controlling the Cotton industry to the satisfaction of employers and employed.¹ The Board also acted as an advisory Committee to the Government as the 'Cotton Reconstruction Board'. Its direct control of the Cotton industry ceased in June 1919. The Records of this Board are of considerable economic interest, and a monograph on the subject is published in this series.

HORSE TRANSPORT DEPARTMENT.

An inter-departmental Committee (assisted by local town Committees) was set up in June 1917 for the purpose of a Census of Horses; also to control their use and feeding for non-military purposes. From June 1918 the Committee controlled the Hay and Straw Crops in this connexion. It was dissolved in April 1919. The records are of both economic and social interest, and those of permanent value have been preserved. They are supplemented by records of the Ministry of Food, Board of Agriculture, and of other departments, including the Committees of the Ministries of Food, Agriculture, and Allied Forage and Oats Control.

DEPARTMENT OF IMPORT RESTRICTION.

This department grew out of the steps taken to check imports of Paper and other materials by means of licences issued by Committees, some of which are mentioned below. A special department was set up for this purpose on 18 March 1916. After

¹ *Board of Trade Journal*, 14 February 1918.

the Armistice these restrictions, originally made in the interest of tonnage and exchange, were continued for the protection of home industries. On 3 November 1919 the Department was merged in the Export Licence Department of the Board of Trade as a licensing section of the Industries and Manufactures Department of the Board. Important minutes and papers have been preserved, with statistics and returns of business transacted.

PAPER CONTROL DEPARTMENT.

This department originated in the constitution of Royal Commissions to restrict the importation of certain materials. Commissions dealing with Paper, &c., were appointed in February 1916 and June 1917, followed in March 1918 by the appointment of a Paper Controller, with a view to the limitation of prices as well as bulk of imports. It has been previously suggested that this department, as well as the National Salvage Council and eventually the Local Government Board, was responsible for the unintelligent incitements to custodians of local records to convert old documents into 'pulp'.

Indexed files of all papers of historical, legal, or statistical interest have been kept, but these do not cover the traffic in waste paper.

PETROL CONTROL DEPARTMENT.

Set up on 1 August 1916, under ss. 15, 16 of the Finance Act of 1916, for the purpose of controlling the consumption of petrol by the issue of licences to civilians, the duty on which was also collected.¹ The licensing system ceased on 16 May 1919. The records consisted chiefly of applications for licences. Papers showing the general policy of the Board and the nature and extent of the restrictions have been preserved with complete statistics of the business transacted. Reference has been made elsewhere to the Petroleum Executive which controlled the policy of the Government with respect to the trade.

TIMBER SUPPLIES DEPARTMENT.

In 1917 the Board of Trade set up this department to deal with the supply of timber which had engaged the attention of

¹ *Board of Trade Journal*, 7 February 1918.

the Office of Works Timber Committee (1914), the Board of Agriculture, Home Grown Timber Committee (1915), and the War Office Controller of Timber Supplies (1917). The operations of the Department in respect of the requisitioning of British timber have been the subject of serious criticism, and its records should also be of value in the interests of British forestry. Some have been transferred to other Departments or are held by Government agents, but the Minutes, Registers, Contract, and General Statistics have been preserved, with all papers relating to the policy and growth of the Department and the work of its overseas units and contingents (in France).

TOBACCO AND MATCHES CONTROL BOARD.

Set up by Orders under the Defence of the Realm Act dated 15 June and 8 September 1917, and assisted by Advisory Committees representing the respective trades and by an Administrative Committee which allocated the supply of matches. Both departments were dissolved in 1919.

Important papers and the Advisory Committees' minutes have been preserved, with ample statistics. These are supplemented by the records of the Board of Trade and Board of Customs and Excise.

TRAMWAYS COMMITTEE.

Set up by Departmental Order of 3 December 1917 to control and co-ordinate the tramway traffic in respect of materials and labour, and also to facilitate travel of munition workers.¹ The functions of the Committee ceased in February 1919. The Subject Register and Minutes of the Committee have been kept, and its proceedings are recorded in the records of the Board of Trade.

WAR RISKS INSURANCE OFFICE.

The business of this Office was of a threefold nature :

- (1) Sea Insurance, i. e. insurance by the Government of ships' cargoes against enemy risks (Cd. 7560/1914), and its operations covered canteen and officers' mess stock and schemes for the benefit of neutrals (Cmd. 98/1919).

¹ *Board of Trade Journal, passim.*

(2) Aircraft Insurance (Cd. 7997/1915).

(3) Air Raid Compensation Scheme (1917).

These were administered by a War Risks Advisory Committee and an Air Raid Compensation Committee respectively. The records which illustrate the proceedings of these committees were necessarily very extensive, and not by any means all of them were of historical interest. Those preserved include Minutes of Committees, Registers, Accounts, and Statistics relating to claims paid, Ships Manifests, and Claims Papers, which probably supply an adequate record of these interesting experiments in public actuarial administration.

WAR TRADE DEPARTMENT.

This body was set up by Treasury Minute of 17 February 1915 to deal with export licences, hitherto issued by the Committee on Trade with the Enemy. Its initial activities are described in Mr. Stephen McKenna's book, *While I Remember*. In connexion with its operations the Department also dealt with embargoes and foreign trade agreements. Its Intelligence and Statistical divisions were transferred to the Foreign Office (Ministry of Blockade). The remaining functions of the Department were merged in the Export Licence Department of the Board of Trade.

The Minutes of the main Licensing Committee and Sub-Committee will be kept. The departmental history and records should be elucidated from other official sources. References to the duplication of its functions is made elsewhere in this work.¹

COMMITTEE ON WORK OF NATIONAL IMPORTANCE.

The real object of this body was to advise the military tribunals as to the national service to be assigned to conscientious objectors under the Statute. Certificates were issued that work had been done to the satisfaction of the Committee, and in this connexion elaborate 'dossiers' were kept in each case, containing Reports from employers, &c., and forming a very interesting collection. A Register of cases with important Correspondence or Minutes will be preserved. The subject was also dealt with by the Ministry of National Service, Board of Agriculture, and Home Office.

¹ Chap. I.

MINISTRY OF TRANSPORT

This post-War Ministry may be regarded as the outcome of several war-time organizations and as an expedient derived from the policy of reconstruction. The new Ministry absorbed the powers of earlier authorities and presumably took over their records. The great interest attaching to the records of the older railway companies has been pointed out by the Public Records Commission. The present state of these and other records relating to transport service remains uncertain owing to the position of the Ministry itself.

THE TREASURY

The Treasury as a modern Departmental Board dates from the beginning of the seventeenth century, but it gradually assimilated and finally took over the functions and prestige associated with the old Exchequer of Receipt and Account since the twelfth century.

It is a matter of common knowledge, or at least of official experience, that 'My Lords' (often represented in modern times by junior clerks) exercise a wider and more effective control of departmental administration than was at any time claimed or exercised by the officers of the Secretaries of State. Although for nearly a century past this hegemony has greatly increased the efficiency of the Civil Service, it has not been conducive to the careful preservation of Public Records, nor has it afforded adequate facilities for their examination by historical students. In fact the Treasury itself has set a bad example to other Departments in this matter. Its earlier Records were ill kept, and many have perished from neglect or have been rashly destroyed as useless. Apart from the Calendars and List of Treasury Papers compiled by the officers of the Master of the Rolls, no classification or description of the Records has been attempted. It will indeed be evident from the circumstances connected with the administration of the Public Record Office since 1838, referred to in the present work,¹ and from the Reports of the Record Commissioners, that the Treasury has treated the Public Records and their votaries with scanty respect. It has also failed to induce, by

¹ p. 135 sq.

precept or example, the Departments at large to preserve and describe their Records in accordance with the scholarly methods practised by other great nations.

No information is available as to the state of the Treasury Records during the period of the War, but students of an earlier procedure must be prepared for sweeping changes owing to the great expansion of the Department in the post-War period.

WAR OFFICE

The constitutional development and organization of the War Office and its component departments down to 1914 have been described in the Second Report of the Public Records Commission with many illustrations in the Appendices to the Report. The Third Report of the Commission has also dealt generally with the military records of the World War.¹ It is well known, however, that during the War the functions of the War Office were vastly enlarged and included many constitutional and economic activities exercised under extraordinary powers, and in some cases appearing to overlap the functions of other official bodies. The War Office may be regarded as including the Army Council. The departmental authorities were also assisted by many advisory committees, and they were largely responsible for the organization and control of Intelligence which might be of military consequence. The archives of the Military Intelligence divisions have been described by the Public Records Commission,² but their economic and social interest is not perhaps so great as those connected with the Salvage Branch, the Graves Registration Commission, and the Prisoners of War Information Bureau. The distribution of war trophies was dealt with by a Committee, but the organization of the Imperial War Museum has been assisted by the Office of Works. The apparatus for an 'Official History of the War' has been provided by the War Cabinet on behalf of the pre-War departments of the General Staff and Committee of Imperial Defence. The economic aspects of the War will probably be treated with greater detail in the departmental Histories of the Ministries of Munitions, Food, and other war-time Offices.

¹ pp. 19-22 and Appendices, *passim*.

² Appx. (V).

The investigations of the Public Records Commission revealed the fact that a great mass of neglected Records was concealed in local repositories under the control of the Admiralty and War Office,¹ and fresh accumulations must have resulted from the local distribution of military units or materials of war.

After the Armistice a statutory Schedule of the records to be found in the custody of Army units was submitted to Parliament (November 1919), and is found to contain information relating to the employment of soldiers in agriculture, transport expedients, supplies of stores and clothing, and the social amenities of military life. Some of the records mentioned in this or other Schedules may be of local as well as of professional interest, but the description of the records to be permanently preserved should not be left to be extracted from a list of 'valueless documents'.

NATIONAL WAR AIMS COMMITTEE

This may be regarded as an independent Department from the fact that it was constituted as a Parliamentary Committee (Cd. 9220). Its purpose was to organize Public Meetings and to devise propaganda in support of the Allied Cause. Its functions were apparently covered by the operations of the Ministry of Information.

WAR GRAVES COMMISSION

A Directorate of Graves Registration and Inquiries was established in May 1915 as a Department of the War Office which was constituted a Royal Commission in May 1917. This organization also dealt with inquiries respecting officers and men whose fate could not be ascertained from the casualty lists. (See War Office and Prisoners of War.)

IMPERIAL WAR MUSEUM

An official account by the Director-General (Sir Martin Conway) of the origin and development of a National (afterwards Imperial) War Museum has been printed, and a further account of its status in respect of the custody of War records and trophies and the collection of materials for an official history of the War will be found in the Third Report of the Public Records

¹ 1914 Report, Appx. (III), *passim*.

Commission and in an Appendix thereto.¹ This department was created in March 1917 by the authority of the War Cabinet. Though practically a distinct national institution, like the War Graves Commission or the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research, it has usually been classified among the Records of the War Office, though its official relations with the Office of Works are closer still. The Library of the Museum contains some valuable Records and departmental prints received from the Ministry of Information and other War departments. Mention has been made previously of the important catalogue of Local War Records relating to the National Services of Women Workers compiled by Miss Agnes Conway.

WAR TRADE INTELLIGENCE DEPARTMENT

Originally known as the 'Trade Clearing House', an Intelligence Branch of the War Trade Department, set up in February 1915, this Department was available for the common use of the Foreign Office, Admiralty, and Board of Trade. In 1916 it was separated from the War Trade Department and taken over by the Ministry of Blockade as the War Trade Intelligence Department, and in 1917, together with the Contraband Committee and the Foreign Trade Department of the Foreign Office, it was attached to the Department of Overseas Trade, jointly administered by the Board of Trade and the Foreign Office.

As a 'Clearing House', the Department had received Intelligence from the Foreign Office, Admiralty, Postal Censor, and War Office (M.I. 5), and was in close communication with the Procurator General and with Scotland Yard. In connexion with the requirements of the Ministry of Blockade and its Committees, the Department issued instructive Reports and compiled exhaustive materials for Black Lists and Proclamations of Contraband. Several sets of its official publications have been preserved as Records.

Upon the dissolution of the Department, the bulk of its records were stored by the respective authorities from which they emanated or to which they were a matter of concern. A number of records relating to trade affairs was transferred to the Depart-

¹ Appx. (V), pp. 125-48.

ment of Overseas Trade. A Schedule of Records relating to the subject of the Blockade was submitted to Parliament in 1920, and these have also supplied a large part of the materials for an official History of the Blockade by Professor H. W. C. Davis, who played a leading part in the successful organization of the Department.

OFFICE OF WORKS

In its modern aspect this Department can trace a descent from Surveyors of royal works, of whom one was Geoffrey Chaucer and another Sir Christopher Wren. Other functions were exercised in connexion with the supervision of the royal forests and the audit of the land revenue of the Crown. In 1810 the sixteenth-century offices of the Surveyors of Revenue and Woods were amalgamated, and in 1832 a new Board absorbed the Surveyors of Works; but in 1851 the Office of Works was reconstituted.¹

This historical Department, which is associated with the archaeology of post-medieval London and its environs, played a notable (though no longer a picturesque part) in the defence of the Realm during the World War. The immediate provision of accommodation for the War Departments was a prodigious and an invidious task, and the equipment of the innumerable War Registries required the exercise of judgement as well as much ingenuity. In short the skilful improvisations of this Department were of the utmost value to the State. The disposal of the Records accumulated in the various Departments abolished with the close of the World War required special attention. In this way the Office of Works became concerned in the housing of the Imperial War Museum, and even submitted, for the opinion of the Royal Commission on Public Records, a notable design for a Museum and War Archives, with an appropriate library, in a building adjacent to the new London County Council Hall.²

Besides its efforts on behalf of the Civil Service, the Office of Works had charge of the royal parks and palaces and was responsible for Government hospitality during the War. Its

¹ 1914 Report of Public Records Commission, pp. 28-9.

² 1919 Report, Part II, Appx. 5. The Commissioners were of opinion that the State Papers at large from 1901 onwards should be housed in a State Paper Office, and that the War Records should not be detached from them.

building enterprises have been criticized (as Burke criticized them 140 years ago), but historians will have much cause for gratitude for its unostentatious services in connexion with the preservation of archaeological remains.¹

Little is known about the Records of this Department which were described by the Royal Commission in 1912 and scheduled by the Record Officers in 1918; but the fact that the older documents at the Record Office are of much historical value should not be lost sight of in dealing with the Records of the War.

¹ e. g. castles and other historical monuments presented to the nation. Sir F. Baines has made the story of the preservation of Westminster Hall a subject of engrossing interest to the citizens.

CHAPTER V

LOCAL WAR RECORDS¹

The Local War Records Committee — Commercial Records — Records of Chambers of Commerce concerning War Conditions — Details of Records of Chambers of Commerce — War Charities.

It will be seen from the general description of the Local War Records given in the second chapter of this volume, that these may be grouped according to their origin in two divisions, namely :

1. Records of branch Departments and Local Committees established by central Departments or set up by statutory authority.

2. Records of Voluntary Associations and Committees organized by local enterprise, though in some cases controlled or supervised by central Departments. In other cases, again, organizations were utilized to meet the requirements of the War, instances being found in the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families' Association and the Local Distress Committees.

Of the above organizations, certainly the most important and probably the most persistent are those attached to the Central Archives of many Public Departments. The nature as well as the number of these sub-departments or Committees has naturally been affected by the War: some pre-War establishments have been modified while new bodies have been created to deal with urgent economic or social problems.

Thus the Admiralty, War Office, and Air Service have multiplied their local units and have turned fortresses and depots to good account as archives. The Ministry of Munitions and its factories and tribunals and that of National Service had its regional and area offices, its tribunals, and Billeting or Recruiting Committees. The Ministries of Food and Health were responsible for many local Branches or Committees and those of Pensions and Labour for a few that still exist. Several pre-War Departments, notably the Boards of Trade, Customs, Inland Revenue, the Local Government Board, and the General Register Office, utilized their existing

¹ See also above, pp. 42-7 and Appx. E.

establishments for national service. The first named was largely responsible for the rationing of commodities in common use : the last named was busied locally with the relief of refugees and other sufferers by the War. The Treasury may or may not be credited with the success of War Savings Committees, but the Ministry of Agriculture has proved a generous supporter of agrarian undertakings. Even in the village post offices war work put a considerable strain on the establishments.¹

Apart from these official agencies, however, there were many semi-official bodies in every town, if not in every village, throughout the land ; for the tendency of our modern legislature (especially in war time) is to delegate the interpretation and administration of its statutes to Government Departments with the aid of local authorities or special authorities *ad hoc*. Even so, the number of unofficial bodies which ministered to the national service during the World War was almost incalculable.

The relative extent and distribution of the Local War Records produced by the above agencies is, however, somewhat obscure owing to the infrequent or merely spasmodic interest which local custodians and antiquaries have taken in their welfare. The recent investigations of the Royal Commission on Public Records received little assistance from the local authorities ; but further investigations made on the same lines by the Committee on Local War Records, organized with the assistance of the Carnegie Endowment, for an Economic and Social History of the World War, have furnished information of the greatest value for the student of British local history during the period of the Great War. A full

¹ 'The Ministry of Food claimed the ownership of all local records of Food Control, and had decided to preserve the minute books of local committees, details of local schemes of distributing milk and controlling fruit and vegetables, and registers of various traders in a central repository. The Food Department of the Board of Trade has now the custody of these documents. The War Office is preserving the records of all units at a repository at Isleworth. These include documents of economic interest, connected with the Women's Forage Corps, the Commandeering of Supplies, and Air-raids. The Local Records of the Ministry of Munitions also are collected in a central repository and are being classified for preservation. The documents of Munitions Tribunals have been transferred to the Ministry of Labour, and duplicates only remain in local custody. The Ministry of National Service secured possession of records dealing with the Scottish Women's Land Army and Man Power Sections, and these are preserved in a Government repository. The Board of Trade has centralized the Records concerning the control of essential commodities and the records concerning tramways and railways. The latter are now transferred to the Ministry of Transport.' (From the Report (see below) of the Local War Records Committee to the British Editorial Board.)

account therefore of the work of this Committee is given in the following pages, and the detailed results of the investigation in the Appendix to this volume.¹

THE LOCAL WAR RECORDS COMMITTEE

This committee came into existence as the result of the Conference on Local War Records, referred to in Chapter II above, which was convened on 30 September 1920, at King's College of the University of London, by the British Academy at the request of the British Editorial Board for the Economic and Social History of the World War. The Conference, composed of about fifty representative historians, archivists, and delegates of local societies, 'was unanimously of the opinion that no comprehensive history of the economic and social effects of the War could be prepared without the use of local records which reflect, as no other classes of historical sources do, the direct effects of the War on the lives of contemporaries'. In view, however, of the grave risk of destruction of most of this material the Conference passed the following resolution:

In the opinion of this Conference, it is necessary that Local Records relating to the war period, and other records not the property of the Crown relating to the same period, should be examined with a view to selection for preservation; that such documents as are to be preserved should be duly catalogued and classified by Local Societies or Representative Local Committees; and that a Committee be appointed to consider the questions arising from the present Conference and to take such steps as may be deemed necessary for giving effect to this resolution.²

The Committee appointed as a result of this resolution made a comprehensive survey of the situation during the greater part of the following two years, and the careful and scholarly report³

¹ Appx. E. See also above, p. 42 sq.

² The following were nominated members of the Central Committee: Sir William Beveridge (Chairman), Sir Israel Gollancz (Honorary Secretary), Mr. Francis Bickley, Professor H. W. Carless Davis, the late Sir Edward C. K. Gonner, Professor A. J. Grant, Dr. Hubert Hall, Professor F. J. C. Hearnshaw, Sir Frederic C. Kenyon, Professor Lilian Knowles, Mr. E. Lipson, the Earl of Onslow, Professor A. F. Pollard, Mr. H. R. Tedder, Mr. A. H. Thomas, and Mr. Basil Williams. Later Professor W. R. Scott was co-opted and also Miss M. E. Bulkley, on her retirement from the position of Organizing Secretary to the Committee. Mr. Bickley was Secretary till December 1920; then Miss Wretts-Smith, whose report was submitted in July 1922. It should be added that the entire initiative was due to the General Editor of this Series.

³ A manuscript copy of this Report has been presented to the Record Office.

prepared by its Secretary, Miss Wretts-Smith, and finally presented to the British Editorial Board for the Economic and Social History of the World War is the only detailed guide to Local War Records at present in existence.¹ As a first step a circular letter was drawn up calling for steps to be taken to prevent the destruction of Local War Records, and also to form local organizations to deal with them. This letter was sent to County Councils and County Borough Councils and fifty-eight of the larger Borough Councils in England and Wales, to the County Councils and larger Borough Councils in Scotland, and to some eighty local historical and archaeological societies. A similar appeal appeared in leading newspapers. The next step was to prepare a 'Memorandum of suggestions for Local Organizations with regard to the Preservation and Classification of Local War Records'. This memorandum laid especial emphasis upon sources for the economic and social history of the War period, enumerated the activities concerning which local records were likely to be found, and indicated, where known, the probable custody of the records. The following were the activities listed: 'Coal Control; Food Control, including Food Economy Committees and Communal Kitchens; Food Production, including the County Agricultural Executive Committees and Voluntary Food Production Societies; National Service, including Local Tribunals and Recruiting Committees; Pensions, including War Pensions Committees, the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families' Association and the Soldiers' and Sailors' Help Society; Recreation, including Juvenile Organizations Committees, Civic Recreation Leagues, and similar organizations for munition workers; Refugees; Relief of Distress, including Local Relief Committees and Citizens' Committees; War Savings, including both Committees and Associations; Organizations for Women's Work; War Charities, for example British Red Cross Society, Local V.A.D. Hospitals, St. John Ambulance, War Hospitals Supply Depots and Comforts for Soldiers, Branches of the Federation of Discharged and Demobilized Soldiers and Sailors, Hospitals and Training Centres for Disabled Service Men; and General.'²

¹ See note 3, p. 109.

² Report, p. 5. The following were comprised under the heading 'General': the Reports of Local Medical Officers of Health, School Medical Officers, Education and Watch Committees, Special Constabulary and Civil Guard, with any other Reports

The memorandum did not limit itself to printed reports and documents, but suggested adding to these the written comments of persons well acquainted with the working of the various organizations. On the other hand, the distinctive quality of the original records was especially emphasized and also the point that what might seem trivial now may prove to be important for the future historian. Local public libraries were recommended in general as the best depositories; the collections to be catalogued.¹

The response to these circular letters varied. Some local authorities resolved to collect and preserve their war-time records.² But it was clear that, in spite of sporadic returns, no serious results would be obtained except through the continued initiative of the Central Committee. Local authorities, faced with the growing need of post-War economy, could hardly justify the expense involved, unless there were some more definite stimulus and unifying policy than had governed action in such matters in the past. Consequently the Committee determined to undertake a systematic survey of its own, hoping at the same time to stimulate further and consistent local action and to render the documents more available for the historian by the preparation of a general guide. The necessity for such action was shown by a preliminary examination of the War Records of the county of Middlesex, to which the Clerk of the County Council gave his hearty co-operation. The results are summarized in the Report of the Committee as follows :

It was found that in Middlesex the records of the Agricultural Executive Committee, the Local Military Tribunal Appeal Committee, issued by the Local Authority; Local Histories concerning the War period; Publications of local firms giving particulars of their war activities and, where possible, minutes and other papers of war-time firms in liquidation; files of local newspapers and collections of cuttings from the same; diaries of persons engaged in war activities.

¹ The memorandum was also sent to professors of history in colleges and universities. See also the letter sent by the Historical Association to its branches, printed in *History*, January 1921.

² Notably the Worcestershire County Council. At Newport the collection in the Public Library was planned to comprise records of the County of Monmouthshire. A County War Records Committee was appointed by the Shropshire County Council, and Library Committees were appointed as Local War Records Committees by various corporations. In Surrey, owing to the interest of the Earl of Onslow, the Ancient Monuments Committee of the county, aided by the Surrey Records Society, undertook the collection of information regarding existing War Records in that county. In Glasgow a Committee was formed by Professor W. R. Scott; and in Manchester under the auspices of the local League of Social Service, with the help of Professor H. W. Carless Davis. Mention should also be made of the Leicester and Leicestershire Committee formed by the local Literary and Philosophical Society.

the War Distress Committee, and the Appeal Committee for Profiteering, were in the possession of the County Council, while the County War Pensions Committee was preserving all its own documents. By a systematic inquiry to all the Borough, Urban District, and Rural District Councils it was found that the records in the possession of these authorities, in spite of some divergence, were approximately similar, and usually consisted of the documents relating to Coal Control, Belgian Refugees Committees, Local Military Tribunals, and Local Relief Committees. Occasionally some of these were in the hands of the former secretaries of the respective local committees, and in some cases the Coal Control Records had been destroyed in accordance with instructions from the Coal Mines Department of the Board of Trade. Records sometimes to be found with the Council were those of National Registration, Voluntary Service Schemes, Voluntary Food Control, and Food Production Committees. Food Control Records had usually been returned to the Ministry of Food, according to Government orders. The records of the Local War Pensions Committees and the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families' Association Branches were in the local offices of these bodies, and those of the War Savings Committee were with the local secretary.

The situation throughout the country was even more chaotic. Most of the local War Records were in the possession of the Borough and District Councils, and the County Councils in several cases recommended that the Local War Records Committee should itself inquire concerning the fate of papers held by local organizations. The result was the preparation of a systematic schedule, of which over 700 copies were sent to the local councils of Great Britain, to all local war records committees, and to public libraries, requesting information concerning the documents in question.

The schedule was an inquiry in tabular form calling for details concerning (1) War Organizations, official or semi-official ; (2) Activities of local councils dealing with war conditions ; (3) Voluntary local organizations ; (4) Local publications and other source material. The classes of documents asked for in each case were minutes, accounts, correspondence, registers, statistics, miscellaneous reports, &c. Among the local War Organizations were noted : Belgian Refugees Committees, Coal Control, Food Control, Food Production, National Service, Pensions, Relief of Distress, War Savings, &c. In short an attempt was made to cover all essential activities, and the schedule itself was drawn up so as to invite as ready a reply as possible.

The result of this systematic inquiry can best be judged from the summary given in the report of the Local War Records Committee, which is quoted below in Appendix E. There can be little doubt, in view of these returns, that the general principle of leaving local records in the localities which produce them can be carried too far. The smaller bodies are upon the whole likely to be lacking in both permanence and capacity to deal technically and financially with the problem. Moreover, the needs of the researcher are best served by securing as much local centralization as possible, in order to give opportunity for comparative studies.

The Local War Records Committee did not limit its activity to the collection of information. During the last six months of its existence it was drawn more and more into the position of a central advisory body. In some districts local committees were formed at the Committee's suggestion, but in general the Committee itself carried on the investigations as to the conditions of local records and endeavoured to secure adequate provision for the preservation of those which might have an historical value.

In a number of counties and important boroughs either the Council, the Public Library authorities or a local committee had taken caution to preserve the local war records. In many more, a return of the Local War Records Schedule had shown that very considerable collections of these documents were being kept among the archives of the local councils and that their safety was therefore to a great degree assured. All efforts had, however, proved unavailing in other districts, and the Committee was forced to the conclusion that the public authorities in these localities could not be induced to take any steps for the care of their war records, and that private efforts for this purpose would not be forthcoming.¹

COMMERCIAL RECORDS

At first sight it may hardly seem germane to these studies to include in them reference to the records of business organizations, but the economic and social history of the war period will be based more and more on this class of source material as time goes on and as business organizations perfect their registries.

In the affairs of the modern State the great business houses play an historic role which is as yet not fully appreciated, and there is quite as much of interest in the records of their activities

¹ From the Report of the Committee.

as in those of feudal estates, or other similar documentation now so essential for the history of the Middle Ages. Naturally, however, one large class of business documents is unavailable, namely those papers which contain private or confidential information. With the great expansion of the powers of government during the War much of even this kind of information was placed at the disposal of Government departments, but even so, little of it is ever likely to find its way into the open fields of scientific research. There is, however, a class of material which does not suffer from this disability; that which indicates problems not of profit and loss, but of business policy, the development of industries, their external war-time history, and especially their relations with labour. Special studies in the economic and social history of the War, of which this volume forms a part, are devoted to just this kind of industrial and economic history, and valuable sources are thus made available both directly by citation and indirectly by reference. Much more, however, should be done along these lines if the future historian is to be given an adequate basis for forming judgement concerning the real inner life of British trade and industry during the period of its greatest crisis.

Finally, there was still another class of commercial and business record which presented to some extent a double interest. Chambers of Commerce, while economic in outlook, are based also upon general local considerations and reflect to some degree the social outlook of the business community in the different cities of the land. The Local War Records Committee, therefore, inquired of the larger Chambers of Commerce what they had done with their records during the period of the War and reconstruction. They also inquired what classes of records would be open to inspection, and urged the Chambers of Commerce not to destroy such records as could have any historical importance.

It appeared from the replies received that the Chambers of Commerce had often considered matters affecting commercial policy, especially questions relative to war-time Government action relating to the restriction of trade, excess profits, labour problems, and the outlook of industry under the abnormal conditions of the time. While upon the whole the reports received were somewhat disappointing, in view of the character of the material to which

they referred, it may be helpful to quote the results as summarized in the Report of the Committee.

RECORDS OF CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE CONCERNING WAR CONDITIONS

(From the Report of the Local War Records Committee)

The records of the Chambers of Commerce in Great Britain appear to contain much information concerning the economic effects of the War, chiefly on trade and industry. With the exception of particulars regarding the position of local industries during the War, which differed in the various districts (e.g. the shipbuilding in Newcastle, cotton manufacture in Manchester, and woollen manufacture in Bradford), information is to be found in the records of most of the Chambers concerning the main War problems of commerce, though in each locality special difficulties and requirements occurred.

The chief matters dealt with or considered by the Chambers in relation to local conditions may be tentatively grouped as follows :

1. Enemy debts and cancellation of contracts ; trading with enemy firms ; registration of firms ; trade marks.
2. Recruiting ; man-power ; reserved occupations ; reinforcements for Army ; demobilization of pivotal men ; employment for ex-officers and disabled service men.
3. Shortage of labour ; rates of wages ; hours of labour ; employment of women ; commercial and juvenile education.
4. War risks insurance on cargoes ; aircraft and bombardment risks.
5. Restrictions of imports and exports ; shortage of raw materials ; shortage of aniline dyes ; paper restrictions ; certificates of origin.
6. Increase in prices ; delay in transit ; railway service ; shipping control ; shipping freights ; postal and telephone service.
7. Lighting restrictions ; coal supply ; electricity supply ; daylight saving.
8. Banking, currency and foreign exchanges ; British, Colonial and foreign customs tariffs and War regulations.
9. Trade policy during and after the War ; encouragement of manufacture of finished goods for export ; efforts to secure trade formerly in enemy hands ; conservation of interests of home trades ; extension of overseas trade.
10. Excess profits duty ; income tax.

It is probable that in most of the larger Chambers of Commerce not included in the following list, information concerning the above subjects usually occurs in documents of the same character as those of the Chambers mentioned. The records usually preserved comprise the Minutes of the Meetings of the Chamber and of its Council, Committees and Trade Sections

where existent ; Annual Reports (printed) ; Monthly Journals and Year Books (printed) ; Special Circulars to members of the Chamber on the effect of the War on business (generally printed) ; correspondence ; commercial statistics. Minutes of Meetings and Annual Reports only appear to be kept by every Chamber.

DETAILS OF RECORDS OF CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE

England and Wales

Blackburn and District Chamber of Commerce. Records, 1914-18, comprising minutes of all Council and General Meetings, and Annual Reports (printed) containing Chairman's review of the trade of the year, &c., and from 1918, complete records, including filed reports, are preserved and are open to inspection by accredited persons. A monthly journal is published jointly with the Bolton, Burnley and Preston Chambers. Year Books published 1918, 1920.

Bradford Chamber of Commerce. Records, 1914-20, comprising Minutes of Meetings, commercial statistics, correspondence, special reports and Annual Reports (printed) are bound yearly and preserved, and are open to inspection by members of the Chamber.

Bristol Chamber of Commerce and Shipping. Records, 1914, comprising Minutes of proceedings of meetings and Annual Reports, are permanently preserved.

Halifax Chamber of Commerce. Records, 1914, comprising Minutes of meetings, commercial statistics, correspondence, Annual Reports (printed), Year Book, 1918 (printed), records of certificates of origin, copies of special circulars issued to members, will be preserved for many years and are open to inspection by accredited persons.

Huddersfield Chamber of Commerce. Records, 1914, comprising Minutes and other documents, are permanently preserved and open to inspection.

Hull Chamber of Commerce and Shipping. Records, 1914, comprise Annual Reports only, which could be inspected.

London Chamber of Commerce. Records, 1914, comprising confidential Minutes of Meetings, and full notes of proceedings of Council, Committees and Trade Sections, Annual Reports (printed), Memorials and Petitions, Resolutions and Reports of Trade Sections, Commercial Statistics, documents of Information Department, special circulars issued to members, and Report of Merchants Committee on Government Control, 1917, are permanently preserved, and permission for inspection might be given conditionally to accredited persons. Summarized reports of minutes and proceedings appear at times in the *Chamber of Commerce Journal*.

Manchester Chamber of Commerce. Records, 1914, comprise 'Monthly Record' bound in volumes which would be loaned to responsible persons ; confidential Minute Books which would be open, conditionally, to students, and notable Communications received during the War, to be retained as

historical mementos. All these documents will be permanently preserved. Records go back over 130 years.

Newcastle and Gateshead Chamber of Commerce. Records, 1914, comprise Annual Reports, including local trade report (printed) and a Monthly Journal, containing full accounts of the meetings of the Council, Committees and Trade Sections, and of special reports, &c. Year Book, 1921.

Northampton Chamber of Commerce. Records, 1914, comprising chiefly the Minutes of Proceedings of the Chamber, are open to inspection, and the interests concerned are chiefly the local footwear and leather industries.

Oldham and District Chamber of Commerce. Records, 1914, comprise the Minutes, in which all Minutes and Resolutions passed by the Council are preserved.

Southampton Chamber of Commerce. Records, 1914, comprising Minutes of Meetings and Annual Reports, will be preserved and are open to inspection by responsible persons.

Swansea Chamber of Commerce. Records, 1914, comprise chiefly the Minutes of the Chamber and Committees. These are not generally open to inspection but could be inspected on receipt of a formal application from some accredited body.

Scotland

Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce and Manufactures. Records, 1914, comprising the Minutes of the Directors' Meetings and of general meetings of members and Annual Reports, are permanently preserved and are open to inspection by accredited persons.

Glasgow Chamber of Commerce (1783). Records, 1914, comprise Minutes and Reports, Journal of the Chamber, and Year Book.

WAR CHARITIES

Among the activities of local institutions, the proceedings of the various War Charities may be noticed here, inasmuch as they were to some extent controlled by the Charity Commissioners, who have compiled an exhaustive list of titles in pursuance of their scholarly care for the preservation of such Local Records as come within their ken. In spite of this advantageous disposition, the fate of the Records is generally unknown to us ; but we are better informed, thanks to the public spirit and discernment of two great voluntary Associations which stand out from the rank and file of War Charities in respect of the extent and importance of their archives as well as of their careful preservation and description.

The British Red Cross Society. The Joint War Committee of the British Red Cross Society and the Order of St. John was formed

on 20 October 1914,¹ in order to secure the greatest efficiency in the voluntary care of the sick and wounded. From that date all resources were pooled and, with a few minor exceptions, the War Work of the two associations was co-ordinated. The Joint War Committee controlled all activities until the end of 1919, when it was replaced by a Joint Council of the two societies. The Scottish Branch of the Red Cross, however, and the Canadian, Australian, and South African Branches were not under the control of the Joint War Committee, but each acted separately. The Indian Fund was administered by the Committee.

Though the Joint War Council was vested with executive powers covering all Red Cross War Work, and had full power to collect money for war purposes and to appoint sub-committees and officers, a Joint War Finance Committee, constituted in 1915, had the final control of all expenditure and undertook all financial responsibility.

The work of the Joint War Committee was delegated to a number of Departments and Commissions at home and abroad. The Home Departments were concerned with the collection of funds and administrative work; the Foreign Commissions operated in the various War Areas. The collection of funds was under the general charge of a Collections Committee, and included the work of the Press or Publicity Department as well as the activities involved in the many famous collections made under the auspices of the Red Cross during the War. 'The Head-quarters' Work² included the following Supply Departments: Stores and Transport, Motor Ambulance, Motor Boats and Hospital Ships, the Central Workrooms, and the War Library. The Personnel Departments comprised those of Medical Personnel, Personnel and Contracts, Nurses, the Central Joint V.A.D. Committee, the Joint Women's V.A.D. Committee, and the Central Demobilization Board. Among the many departments concerned with Hospitals and

¹ For a full account of the War activities of this Committee see 'Reports by the Joint War Committee and the Joint War Finance Committee of the British Red Cross Society and the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in England on Voluntary Aid rendered to the Sick and Wounded at Home and Abroad and to British Prisoners of War, 1914-19' (H.M. Stationery Office, 1921). The author has received valuable assistance from Mrs. Hutton, of the British Red Cross Society's Archives.

² For the Central Prisoners of War Committee and the Wounded and Missing Department see pp. 84 and 359.

training centres the Auxiliary Home Hospitals, the Convalescent Camps, the Auxiliary and Convalescent Hospitals for Officers, the Orthopaedic Depot, the Kitchener House Workshops, and the Special Hospitals for the After-Care of the Disabled may be mentioned.

The War Work abroad was undertaken chiefly by the various Foreign Commissions for East Africa, France and Belgium, Italy, Malta, Egypt and the Near East, Mesopotamia and Salonika ; while in Russia and Roumania, Serbia, Montenegro, and Gallipoli there were British Red Cross Units.

In consequence of these extensive operations the documents accruing were both numerous and important, and in course of time the Committee established a Record Office for the reception of all its Archives,¹ which for several years past have been well housed and are now in process of being arranged and classified. Complete records of all the Foreign Commissions are collected in the Record Office with the documents of the Home Departments not in current use.

In general, the Records are those of all the departments mentioned above, besides a few of less importance or interest. They comprise the correspondence, reports, and supplementary papers of all departments, together with accounts, registers and lists, contracts and returns, with some maps. The minutes of the Joint War Committee are preserved. The Records of the Joint War Finance Committee include both the greater part of the accounts and the printed ' Summaries of Work ' issued periodically during the War period, with the ' Annual Reports ' and other printed matter.

If the present arrangement of the Archives could be continued, the Red Cross War Records would comprise a unique collection which would be of great value to future investigators of the economic and social aspects of the World War ; but it appears from an official Memorandum that accommodation has only been provided for papers of historical or special interest until March 1927.

The Young Men's Christian Association. The War Records of the Y.M.C.A. are preserved at the Central Offices, 13 Russell

¹ The Record Office is at present at 17 Cornwall Gardens, S.W. 7, under the charge of Mrs. I. S. Hutton, as Keeper of the Records.

Square, where all the centralized records are stored. A schedule of the various classes of documents exists comprising records of about twenty Departments, e. g. those relating to the Outbreak and first days of the War, and to Personnel, with Administrative, Financial, and Divisional records for the British Isles, the Colonies, and Overseas.

All the records are to be centralized and in time will be weeded out, particularly the correspondence ; but no permanent records will be destroyed, and a record of every matter will be kept.

Many divisional records for the British Isles have not yet reached head-quarters in spite of applications to Voluntary Workers who formed Committees all over the country. It has been found very difficult to collect these records, and some, it is feared, have already been destroyed.

On the other hand, the records of the Y.M.C.A. in all the War areas Overseas have already been collected in London, comprising those connected with the Internment Camps in Holland and the occupied territories in Germany.

In addition to these records, cuttings of all press notices during the War period are kept in large books, with a complete series of the posters published by the Y.M.C.A. during the War, and copies of letters of appreciation. Complete files of weekly bulletins and magazines circulated by the Y.M.C.A. from the beginning of the War are also kept, with maps and charts illustrating the War work of the Association.

A history of the Y.M.C.A. during the War is contemplated and is already in progress. The various classes of records above mentioned will be utilized for this purpose.

Other War Charities, of which only a general mention can be made here, may be classified as those benefiting Civilians and the Military Forces both at home and abroad. The chief classes of activities connected with the Forces may be defined as those having reference to Hospitals (including the Nursing Staffs), Comforts for the Forces and for Prisoners of War ; Measures for the Welfare of Discharged and Disabled Soldiers and Sailors (including the wounded and maimed) ; Welcome Home Funds, Memorial Funds, and miscellaneous activities (e. g. the Blue Cross Fund).

Measures for the amelioration of the War conditions of Civilians fall approximately into the two following classes: Relief and Prevention of Distress, both at home and abroad, and Measures for the Welfare of Civilians, including Dependents of the Forces. The importance of some of these activities extends to the post-War period, particularly in respect of the treatment of discharged and disabled soldiers and sailors and the relief and prevention of distress abroad. In connexion with an enumeration and description of the Local War Charities with a view to the preservation of suitable specimens for future reference, it may be noted that valuable work has been done for commemorating Women's Work in the World War.¹ It is possible, indeed, to distinguish many notable activities and excellent performances by women in the general list of British War Charities. Mention may be made of the relief of Belgian Refugees and Serbian Fugitives, of Maternity and Child Welfare, and a larger share of strenuous work in support of Hospitals and other institutions, besides the adventurous enlistment of Women's Auxiliary Corps and Volunteers in many departments of the National Service.

In accordance with the War Charities Act, 1916, all War Charities were necessarily registered and were required to be under the control of a responsible Committee; also to keep minutes, records of attendances, and properly audited accounts. The present position of many of these Records is uncertain, for, while some of them have been scheduled as Local War Records, the majority are still in the possession of the late secretaries of the Committees, and it is now difficult to trace them, while some have already been destroyed. The Records of War Charities are, however, of very varying interest for economic and social study. In general, it may be believed that it is those of lesser value that have been carelessly kept or destroyed, while the more valuable documents are receiving some attention, either from local societies or from ex-officials, and are being placed in safe repositories. These dispositions are largely due to the efforts of the Local War Records Committee. Lack of space, however, prevents further reference to its activity in this regard.

¹ An official list of the Records of the Women's Section of the Imperial War Museum Library has been compiled by the Hon. Secretary and Curator, Miss Agnes Conway, O.B.E. The catalogue enumerates nearly 500 collections of Local War Records.

PART II

BRITISH ARCHIVES IN PEACE AND WAR

SECTION I. RETROSPECTIVE STUDIES; HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY SURVEY

CHAPTER VI

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND THEIR EXPANSION

The Story of the English Records — The Public Record Office Act — The State Papers — Devolution of the State Papers — The Departmental Records — Devolution of the Departmental Records — Congestion of the Archives (1856–1914) — Reflections on the Administration of the Act — The Moral of ‘Muddling Through’.

THE STORY OF THE ENGLISH RECORDS

HISTORIANS and archivists are at one in insisting that the first step toward the proper use of any collection of records is a study of their history. Just as it is impossible for the researcher to understand the value or relative importance of documents without an adequate knowledge of their origin and the conditions under which they were produced, so it is impossible to appraise or even to describe national archives without a clear idea of the way in which they were brought together. For archives mirror history as do the documents themselves, and many a problem in classification and arrangement, to say nothing of the preservation or disappearance of masses of material, will remain an unsolved mystery, unless it is faced from the standpoint of its own history.

But the history of the archives is not without its own appeal, a human story, tinged at the beginning with romance. The ancient palaces of the Kings of England were utilized as the repositories of records which were as precious to our sovereigns as the relics and regalia deposited beside them. Removed from the ancient vaults and iron-bound chests with which they are still associated, the records themselves can tell us the story of the times in which they were compiled. This is the story of the making of

feudal England and of the passing of an age of chivalry ; a story of many victories and some defeats ; of pestilence and famine ; of sedition, privy conspiracy and rebellion ; of battle and murder and of sudden or lingering death. Again, these records will tell us (if we consult them) a later story of the growth of British trade and colonization, and some of the secrets of European diplomacy—from the mystery of Tilsit to the tragedy of Versailles. We may even learn the exact figures of the budgets for eight hundred fiscal years, from the modest revenue of Norman England down to the sum that men whisper to-day but dare not speak. Last of all, we might hear many particulars concerning the manners and customs of our forefathers, and gather materials for the life-history of the most famous among them.

The early custody of this rich historical output is hardly less varied than that of the contents themselves. For instance, the history of the custody of a younger branch of the Public Records, the State Papers, runs a course parallel to that of the judicial records, traversing historical scenery that is scarcely less romantic in its progress, from the King's ' Study ' at Westminster to the State Paper Office in St. James's Park ; while the history of the great departmental collections, including those of the Royal Household, is full of national and personal interest.

It was characteristic of their earlier custody that the records were preserved side by side with treasure and relics, and traces of these primitive conditions can still be found in the modern archives.¹ Receptacles of various sizes and shapes, containing, for the most part, loose documents, were placed in certain repositories, such as a ' treasury ' or ' wardrobe ' connected with a royal palace or castle, a chapel or church.² These repositories were distributed in the chief centres of judicial activity. The records of the courts of Common Law (King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer) were both compiled and used at Westminster, which was regarded as their proper repository.³ There were two ancient Treasuries, one in the cloister of the Abbey next the Chapter House, and the other in the Receipt of the Exchequer on the river frontage of the

¹ *Dialogus*, I. vi.

² *Lives of the Confessor* (Rolls), p. 151 ; *Studies*, p. 16.

³ See the Tables of these repositories in *Studies*, pp. 111-14 ; 1912 Report, Appx. (II), pp. 11-13, and below, Appx. G.

Palace. Here the receptacles were disposed in various chambers or nooks, their position being indicated in the inventories. The contents of each receptacle were also clearly indicated by means of a press-mark resembling those still used for identifying cargo in a ship's hold. Supplementary treasuries in the precincts of the Palace, for the accruing judicial records, are also mentioned in the sixteenth century; but here, as elsewhere, overflows of records were to be found from time to time in unoccupied chambers of the Palace or in private houses or offices which might be adjacent to or remote from the repository itself.

Another class of documents, comprising those issued or received by the Chancery clerks, was mainly preserved in the Exchequer or Wardrobe, occasionally in the Temple Church, and from the end of the thirteenth century in the Rolls Chapel. Here they were in the charge of the Keeper of the Rolls of Chancery.¹ But some six centuries of English history were to pass before a Keeper of the Rolls became the final custodian of the Public Records of the realm.

Into the details of this archival history it is impossible to enter here; yet, in view of the casual methods of dealing with some of our contemporary records, it may be well to recall in a general way the unfortunate consequences of the lack of a consistent policy. In the first place, there was no security that the documents would find their way from the working offices to the respective repositories. It is almost certain that many documents of early date must have been overlooked, or purposely retained by the officials.

¹ He also held, from the last years of Edward I's reign, the office of Keeper of the House of Converts. Sir H. Maxwell Lyte in D.K., 57th Report; W. J. Hardy in *Middlesex N. & Q.*, vol. ii, p. 49. Possibly the Rolls Chapel took the place of the Temple Church as an occasional repository. From this repository the earlier Rolls were transmitted to the Tower of London, where they were stored in the White Tower and the Wakefield Tower successively, as well as in Caesar's Chapel. There was also a Treasury in the Tower of London which was probably connected with the Wardrobe. The Tower Record Office was connected with the Rolls Chapel. In early times the King's Household was closely connected with the Chamber and the Wardrobe, but the administrative and judicial records for which it was responsible in this connexion were co-ordinated with the Chancery and Exchequer series. Permanent records of the functions of the Household Officers have been preserved in the records of those departments supplemented by a mass of vouchers and other documents. At the same time the administrative records connected with the jurisdictions of the Lord Steward, the Lord Chamberlain, and other Household Officers, have been fitfully preserved from the beginning of the Tudor period onwards. The almost complete disappearance of early records has been officially attributed to the Whitehall fire in 1698; but the conditions of their later custody, as investigated by the Royal Commission of 1910, would sufficiently explain these losses (see 1914 Report, *passim*).

Again, records might also be removed from one repository to another by reason of fire, damp, repairs, or some other emergency. Here the custodians were in much the same plight as modern slum-dwellers whose ruinous tenements have been condemned by the local authorities. In default of a 'model dwelling', another decrepit lodging is proffered, and the alternative accepted. So, too, the archivist's tenure at will was entitled to small consideration, and when a ruinous repository was vacated, the records were forthwith squeezed into another building, regardless of the fact that they might have no affinity with the collections already housed there. In later times, however, a more enlightened method was adopted, and some attempt was made to transfer derelict archives to a general repository. It would perhaps be an exaggeration to say that this was the ideal policy of early record-keepers ; but at least it was one of their chief *desiderata*.¹

As the three existing repositories, at Westminster, the Tower, and the Rolls, were not only privileged but already congested, supplementary depots had to be created as the necessity arose. The re-housing of records saved from fires like those of 1666, 1698, 1731, and 1833 was facilitated by the decay or disappearance of other records. At the worst, they could find a refuge (as many have done in our own time) in some dockyard, jail, or stables, unless a minor royal palace happened to be untenanted. A more serious emergency was caused by extensive structural improvements, such as affected the outbuildings round Westminster Hall in 1793 and 1822. Here records which had accrued during centuries of litigation were packed in every vacant space from the cellars to the roof, and the bulk of this accumulation was prodigious.²

¹ See below, p. 211 sq. In 1547 a Bill was drafted for preserving judicial records in local repositories.

² 1836 Report, pp. 60, 82, 83, 411-14 (where the removal from the Mews is dated in 1835); 1837 Report, pp. 154 sq., correcting some inaccuracies in Thomas (*History of Public Departments*, p. 155 ; cf. Maitland in *Memoranda de Parlamento*, p. xv).

THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE ACT

The unsatisfactory condition of the national records, which these facts merely illustrate, did not fail to bring out protests and a number of remedial measures, analysed in a later chapter, which finally resulted in the creation of the Public Record Office. It may be well to recall here, however, that the process of centralization, which was the key to reform, depended in the first instance upon the existence of a building in which to house the documents—a condition not fulfilled until after the middle of the century, and in the second place ¹ upon the powers granted in Section II of the Act for bringing in the outstanding Public Records not yet in the ‘custody’ of the Master of the Rolls, but only in his ‘charge and superintendence’. As soon as the Repository on the Rolls Estate had been put in hand, an Order in Council was issued (5 March 1852), and all official documents of a public nature, the property of the Crown, were brought within the provisions of the Act, including the State Papers and Departmental Records.

¹ This has been shown clearly in the reports of the Royal Commission on Public Records (First Report, 1912, Appx. (I)).

THE STATE PAPERS

In the matter of record keeping, the passing of the Middle Ages seems to be almost unmarked. In the general view, State-craft and legislation, usury and adventure, printing, the pulpit and the stage, made a new England during the Elizabethan period; but the ancient institutions and procedure of the State had remained for the most part unchanged. Knight's service and feudal taxation survived the Long Parliament; wager of battle and the secular arm outlived the Holy Roman Empire, of which George the Third was an Elector, as well as Defender of the Faith. When that unchivalrous monarch had ceased at length to be titular King of France, his revenues were still accounted for in Pipe Rolls, modelled on the practice of Norman times, while the King's Remembrancer and the Comptroller of the Exchequer continue the traditions that are associated with the custody of early medieval records.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the making and the keeping of records go on side by side with little change until the Dissolution of the Monasteries and the passing of an old-world life.¹

It is from the closing years of the reign of Henry VIII, and from the new ministerial system which they inaugurate, that we must date the modern series of State Papers. From this time onwards, the 'Papers and Records of State', as distinguished from the judicial records of the Courts of Law and the administrative records of the Household Parliament and Council, are preserved in or about the Courts of Whitehall or St. James. Before long, a separate repository is erected for their custody, the King's 'Study' or Library, in theory; although in fact the 'meanest garret could be glorified by the designation of the Office of Papers of State'.

From the Tudor period, when they began, to the nineteenth

¹ In particular we note that the oldest receptacle of medieval Records and State Papers, the Treasury of the Receipt, makes up its famous Inventories of deposits and removals down to the last year of the reign of Henry the Eighth (Palgrave, *Kalendar*, &c., of the Exchequer, vol. iii, *passim*), although these transactions had been falling off during some years past. Just as the ancient and conservative practice of the Courts of Justice was challenged by the new process of Courts and Councils and statutory authorities *ad hoc*, so the administrative functions of the medieval Chancellor were to be ousted by the trained statesmanship of the Secretaries of State. The constitutional practice, to which only a brief allusion can be made here, has been recently stated with much learning and research, notably by Professor T. F. Tout, Professor A. F. Pollard, and latterly by Miss Jeffries Davis as University Reader in the History of London.

CONTENTS OF THE STATE PAPER OFFICE¹ (1547-1862)

STATE PAPERS DOMESTIC		STATE PAPERS FOREIGN	STATE PAPERS COLONIAL	COUNCIL and TRADE PAPERS and MISCELLANEOUS COLLECTIONS
HOME OFFICE RECORDS		FOREIGN OFFICE RECORDS	COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS	
INSTRUMENTS UNDER SEAL AND SIGN MANUAL (Originals, Drafts, and Registers) arranged according to :	(1) FORM (Papers, Entry- Books, Letter - Books, Warrants, &c.)	CORRESPONDENCE (Royal, Secre- tarial, and Private) arranged accord- ing to :		MISCELLANEOUS (Intelligence, Reports, Inclosures, Ciphers, Office Memoranda, &c.) arranged according to :
		(2) TITLE (General Series Miscel- laneous), Domestic Papers, &c.	(3) COUNTRY (Scotland, Ireland, France, &c.)	(4) SUBJECT (Criminal, Naval, Military, Aliens, &c.)

¹ See Hall, *Studies*, Part I and Appendices, and *Repertory*, pp. 37-44.

century the State Papers were moved several times from one repository to another,¹ but finally, in 1862, they were given to the custody of the Public Record Office.

We have many interesting details of the contents of the early collections and of their classification by successive Keepers of the State Papers. These official memoranda need elucidation, for if rightly interpreted they might assist us to reconstruct the contents and internal economy of the 'Paper Office' during the three centuries of its existence. They would also supply some valuable references to documents that are no longer preserved with the State Papers transferred to the Public Record Office in 1862.

DEVOLUTION OF THE STATE PAPERS

The general plan of the classification of the State Papers between 1547 and the abolition of the State Paper Office in 1852 is complicated, as we have seen, by the inclusion in early times of numerous Chancery and Exchequer Records, as well as by the intrusion of later Departmental Records and a large mass of semi-official and personal documents.²

The main contents of the Secretarial archives consist of Correspondence in the shape of original letters received, with their

¹ Soon after the reorganization of the Secretariat in the last years of the reign of Henry VIII (Calendar of Letters, &c., Henry VIII, xx (2), 864, 982) the 'Papers and Records of State', which had hitherto been preserved in the Treasury of the Receipt within the Abbey, are found in the Gatehouse of Westminster Palace. In 1614 they were apparently removed to a new office in or near the Gateway of the Palace of Whitehall, whence they were removed in 1619 to rooms over the Gateway, where they remained till the building was pulled down, between 1759 and 1764 (Hall, *Studies*, pp. 31-7). Further details will be found in Thomas, *Public Departments*, and in Edwards, *Libraries, passim*. Between 1706 and 1764, however, the greater portion of the Papers was removed from the Gateway to the Cockpit. In 1786 they were again removed to Middle Scotland Yard, and thence to Great George Street in 1819. Finally, the whole collection was at last adequately housed in the State Paper Office erected in St. James's Park in 1833.

With the State Papers proper the contents of more than one related collection were allowed to mingle from time to time, including the papers of the Privy Council, the Signet Office, the Gazette, and the Board of Trade; but this is a subject that is still in need of elucidation. The details of the establishment of the office before the Restoration are also obscure, though the appointments of the successive or reputed Keepers, Collectors, Transmitters, and Methodizers, with their several functions, can be traced in public records.

² The functions of the Secretaries of State in connexion with procuring or supervising the issue of these instruments would naturally account for the presence among the State Papers of such forms as Drafts, Docquets, and Warrant Books. Again, although Treaties were enrolled in Chancery down to 1678, and Proclamations to a still later date, the Secretaries' Departments had preserved the Treaty Papers and kept Entry Books or Registers of all diplomatic instruments issued under the Signet or Sign Manual.

enclosures, and drafts or copies of out-letters. Following the official practice of Exchequer Archivists since the thirteenth century,¹ this correspondence was primarily arranged under countries, with an alternative or secondary classification under various subjects of interest; but in later times the divisions or sub-divisions are largely based on the form and subject-matter of the documents.²

Down to the eighteenth century the dual Secretariat was concerned alike with Domestic, Foreign, or Colonial business; but from that date this business begins to be more definitely associated with the conventional spheres of official interest. Roughly speaking, Domestic Affairs, relating to political, constitutional, or criminal matters, Justice and Police, Ecclesiastical and Local Government, belong to England, a title which embraced the sister kingdoms and Channel Islands. Foreign Affairs are dealt with in Northern and Southern Departments, the latter including England, which was also concerned with Military and Colonial business. In fact, while the direction of the minor wars between 1815 and 1855 was assigned to the later Colonial Department, the Home Secretary continued to act as 'Minister of Defence' far into the Victorian period.

The creation of the Colonial and War Departments in the nineteenth century left many papers of State in the archives of the Departments hitherto responsible for such matters, and eventually the five Secretariats, which should have shared the archives of the old State Paper Office, retained the State Papers relating to their respective jurisdictions. The results of this administrative lottery have been sometimes grotesque. Thus the military dispatches of the eighteenth century are preserved in the Foreign and Colonial Offices, while the Home Office kept the main records of the militia and volunteers. The last two Departments also retained the bulk of the State Papers relating to India. On the other hand, all Colonial Papers have now been removed from the jurisdiction of the Home Secretary to the advantage of historical students, though not without causing some misgivings as to the logical consequences of these precedents.

¹ Palgrave, *Kalendars*, vol. i (*passim*); Hall, *Studies*, pp. 30, 60, and Appx. V.

² e. g., 'Letters and Papers', 'Entry Books', 'Ciphers', 'North and South Departments', 'Military', 'Criminal', 'Militia', 'Law', 'Church', &c. (above, p. 131).

During the period of the World War the Foreign Office and War Office were extended and sub-divided by the creation of War Departments, while the archives of the three remaining Secretariats received considerable accessions of War Records from various quarters. In this connexion, as mentioned elsewhere,¹ the departments of the Secretaries of State were closely concerned with the economic and social developments of the war period.

There are other aspects of the custody and use of the State Papers which have been frequently adverted to, including the extent and distribution of the existing collections,² their description and publication, and the facilities which exist for their inspection. Each of these would repay careful study, but this could scarcely be fruitful as long as the State Papers remain in their present condition. For the official lists do not reveal the fact that a very considerable portion of these priceless records of our Imperial History is missing. Fortunately for students the situation has been saved hitherto by a process of devolution whereby the great public libraries have intercepted most of these waifs and strays ; but for how long can this intervention prevail in the face of the competition of war millionaires ?

THE DEPARTMENTAL RECORDS

The historical development of the Secretary of State's Department in England concerns us here more closely than that of other departments of State,³ for a practical reason. The ' State Papers '

¹ Above, p. 5 sq., and below, p. 241.

² Materials for this purpose will be found in D.K. 30th Report, Appx., pp. 212-93 ; *The Guides to Materials for American History in British Archives*, by Professor C. M. Andrews and his able associates ; and the *Repertory of British Archives*, p. 171. The Reports of the Royal Commission of 1910-19 are of especial value. Many announcements respecting the distribution or disposal of State Papers in private custody are published in the Daily Press. A complete record of sales by auction is preserved in the British Museum. Reference should also be made to the papers by Professor Firth and Mrs. S. C. Lomas in *Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.*, N.S. xvi, and 3rd Ser., vol. vii. The *Bibliography of Modern British History*, now in course of compilation by Anglo-American co-operation, will deal with this subject in its first two volumes.

³ To some extent these official institutions have run a parallel course. The constitution of more than one of the existing departments of the Royal Household and Civil Service can be traced back to the Middle Ages, though from 1782 onwards the expansion of the Civil List has followed new lines of constitutional development. These ministries have also ceased to be satellites of the Secretariat ; for after the Revolution a new planet swam into the ken of Downing's followers in Whitehall, and the increasing influence of the Treasury can be traced in the Calendars of Treasury Papers and Books from this date.

are of recognized value as historical sources, whereas a considerable proportion of the 'Departmental Records' has only an occasional interest for students. The fact remains, however, that, viewed from the standpoint of the archivist, they present problems of unusual difficulty. Down to the Victorian age the departmental hierarchy preserved some features of medieval service, and hereditary serjeanties or patents conferring a freehold in public offices survived until our own times, for the fee system dies hard. The recent Royal Commission on Public Records regarded this system, generally, as one of the chief causes of the neglect of public records. Apart from this objection, we should find that the question of fees has also affected the making of records; for as the clerks, both in ancient and modern times, worked on the principle that a record could not be made unless a fee was forthcoming, it is evident that many entries or enrolments were not carried out from this cause. No departmental collections have survived, in official custody, before the seventeenth century,¹ though fragments of sixteenth-century archives exist for sections of the Royal Household. The loss of earlier departmental records is easily explained by the non-existence of permanent repositories and fixed establishments, a point to be emphasized in connexion with war-time departmental archives. Even such an ordinary incident as the removal of the Department from one house to another, or of an official of the Department from one room to another, might be an occasion for the destruction of unwanted records; for experience still teaches us that records no longer in daily use by civil servants may never reach the hands of expectant archivists.²

One further development of departmental activities may be noted in connexion with the subject of the Departmental Records. Before the War it might almost have been said that, with very few exceptions, none of the Departments set up since 1860 possessed records of permanent historical value.³ To what extent this dictum should be revised in consequence of the War is a question that has been discussed elsewhere.⁴

¹ It was scarcely to be expected that the clerks, serjeants, patentees, and other ministers of the Crown should have amassed records of their official transactions, other than those which have been preserved in the Chancery or Exchequer as vouchers or enrolments of ministers' accounts.

² Cf. above, p. 23 sq., and below, p. 199 sq.

³ *Studies*, pp. 49-50.

⁴ Above, p. 41 sq.

DEVOLUTION OF THE DEPARTMENTAL RECORDS

The vicissitudes of the pre-War Departmental Records are of much interest in connexion with the present state of the Archives of the War Departments. Certain ancient Departments have ceased to exist, and their records have been to a large extent dispersed, or even lost.¹ In other cases the records of abolished departments have been absorbed in the archives of a related service.² Again, some Departments have survived with their records more or less intact,³ while others have lost a large proportion of them⁴ from some cause or other. Finally, we have to remember that besides the Departmental Records already transferred to the Public Record Office or retained by the Departments pending such transfer, there are many more outlying in the archives of British Embassies or Consulates, or in naval and military depots and other branch offices, though some of these may be regarded as local archives.⁵

Reference has been made elsewhere to official documents that have found their way into private hands ;⁶ but, on the whole, the loss of Departmental Records from this particular cause is less marked than in the case of the State Papers. On the other hand, the latter have not been subjected to a process of official weeding.

The classification of these Departmental Records and the analysis of their contents are rendered difficult by the fact that they do not all relate to the existing procedure of the Departments, and are therefore not easily understood unless we can discover the nature of that procedure.⁷

The contents of the Departmental archives have been tabulated in an Appendix,⁸ to indicate their relationship with the State Papers. A noticeable distinction in the form of these two classes

¹ e. g. the Revenue Departments which preceded the present Inland Revenue establishment at Somerset House.

² e. g. the old naval departments superseded by the Accountant-General's Office in 1834. A more familiar example is furnished by the Alien Office (Home Office).

³ e. g. the Paymaster-General, Board of Customs (the old Excise Records are less well preserved), and Office of Woods, &c.

⁴ e. g. the Stationery Office.

⁵ 1914 Report and Appx. (II), pp. 89 and 215 sq., and *Repertory*, pp. 93-7. The earlier archives of the Legations and Consulates have been mostly transferred during recent years.

⁶ See below, pp. 204, 250 sq., 263.

⁷ Cf. below, p. 264.

⁸ Appx. G.

of official documents is due to the fact that most of the Departments have been administered by a Board or by Commissioners, and the procedure of such a body required the use of 'Registers', 'Minutes', 'References', and 'Reports'.¹ The lists available are admittedly inadequate,² and we have learnt more about the Departmental Records from the Reports of the Royal Commission on Public Records than from any other official publication, though the earlier Reports of the Deputy Keeper and the statutory disposal Schedules are very helpful. Other valuable sources of information are the Departmental Reports presented to Parliament, and Departmental Documents printed in Blue Books.³

Although the contents of the Departmental Archives during the War might be referred to pre-existing series, it would be found in practice that, for the present at least, the vast and complex collections of War Records must stand under that title. Indeed, apart from inter-departmental transmissions and casual deposits, their provenance and nature must be to a large extent an unknown quantity.

TABLE SHOWING THE RECORDS AND ORDER OF PROCEDURE OF A DEPARTMENTAL BOARD

I. IN-LETTERS (Letters or documents received)

- (a) Registers (indicating date, subject, and press-mark of the same).
- (b) Minutes (showing how the matter was disposed of, forthwith, or after Reference and Report).
- (c) Reference (for expert Opinion).
- (d) Report (submitting Opinion).

II. OUT-LETTERS (Official Letters or formal Instruments issued in accordance with Minutes).

III. ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS (Returns, Accounts, Establishments, &c., compiled in pursuance of Out-Letters).

IV. MISCELLANEOUS RECORDS (Deposited Documents, Official Compilations, &c., received as inclosures, or prepared in due course).

¹ See table below. Students of the records of the World War will find that though traces of this procedure still survive, the practice of the new War Departments was considerably simplified.

² Cf. below, pp. 299-304.

³ Some of these sources are cited in the Reports of the 1910 Commission (Bibliographies in Appendices, 1912 and 1914).

CONGESTION OF THE ARCHIVES (1856-1914)

There is much instruction for the student of War Archives generally and of Departmental Records in particular in the history of the Public Record Office. The first block of the Repository was completed in 1856; but by that time the Record Officers had formed some idea of the value and extent of the outlying records, which they had at first failed to appreciate. They were now aware that the whole of this space was insufficient for the accommodation of the records already bespoken, and the Order in Council issued in 1852 had placed an unknown quantity of records at their disposal. Moreover, the administrative upheaval caused by the Crimean War had hastened the transfer of a large mass of departmental documents. The result was a pressing need for enlargement.

Failing the immediate addition of a new block to the Repository, a proposition that was quite unacceptable to the Treasury, two expedients, each unworthy of the occasion, suggested themselves and were adopted. In the first place, as many Departmental papers as possible must be destroyed, ostensibly because they were useless, but really to provide room for more important judicial records. Secondly, such Departmental papers as ought to be preserved must be stored in subsidiary repositories. And so the records of the military and fiscal history of the nation for two centuries past were ruthlessly 'weeded' by officials who were unqualified to pronounce an opinion as to their historical or even (as we know now) as to their practical value. The residue was consigned to a perilous obscurity in the store-sheds of some dock or arsenal, in damp cellars and dusty attics at Whitehall, and in the ruinous houses of bygone Chancery clerks within the Liberty of the Rolls.

Thus the situation was saved; but at what cost we shall only know when the series and the sequence of the Departmental Records have been reconstructed.

At last, in 1863, the second block of the Repository was put in hand and completed in 1871, providing, for the first time, Public Search Rooms.¹ During the next twenty years the need for a

¹ See Plans described in 1914 Report, Appx. II.

further extension of the Repository was strongly felt, and again vainly urged, until the vigour of a new administrator extorted a final concession from the Treasury and provided England with a House of Archives such as most of the European nations already possessed.

The third and fourth blocks of the Public Record Office were begun in 1892 and completed in 1899. They provided offices for the administration with an imposing frontage on Chancery Lane, and a further series of strong rooms, extending back to meet the existing blocks. This scheme involved the demolition of the Rolls House and Chapel, but neither of these buildings retained any features of archaeological interest. Ample compensation for their disappearance was afforded by two valuable descriptive monographs¹ and by the erection of an admirable Museum on the site of the Chapel itself.

A more serious disadvantage resulted from the enforced demolition of the old houses in Chancery Lane, which had been utilized since 1855 as a temporary repository for an immense quantity of naval and military records. These records were temporarily stored in a barge-house under Somerset House; but since they threatened to swamp the new repositories of the Public Record Office, their bulk had to be reduced by another drastic weeding.

In 1911 Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte brought to the notice of the Public Records Commission his important plan for securing a frontage on the south side of the Repository, facing Clifford's Inn Garden, in view of the future requirements of the Public Record Office. The extension of the Repository on this side was in contemplation at the beginning of the War.

It is curious to find that the course of subsequent events has made the emergency repository a permanent institution. During the War some of the most precious of the British Public Records found a sordid but secure refuge from the new and deadly peril of hostile air-raids in various subterranean repositories. With the conclusion of Peace the congestion of the War Records revived the old expedient of utilizing any vacant building as a repository, and it would seem that the history of the Archives is likely to repeat itself in this generation if the War Records are preserved.

¹ See p. 127, n. 1.

REFLECTIONS ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE ACT

In the circumstances that have been previously described it is scarcely surprising that the expansion of the Public Record Office should have lagged behind the accumulation of transferable Records. In no period of the world's history have spacious public buildings been suddenly erected, like the fabric of an Arabian Nights' dream, in response to a peremptory decree.

Again, though 'it was not meet' (as Latimer would say) for an Act of Parliament to ordain one thing and the Treasury another, 'clean contrary', we do occasionally find such legislative ordinances treated as though they were permissive. But even the statute law, we are assured, cannot be safely ignored; nor will the old precept of 'economy' extenuate the action of the Treasury in this matter.

It is almost painful to reflect how differently things might have been done if authority had worked hand in hand with knowledge. If, in accordance with the intention of the Act of 1838, a Public Record Office had been promptly erected and extended to keep pace with the authorized transfers; again, if the Record Officers of that day had been willing or competent to bring all the existing Public Records to account, as was done by the Royal Commission on Public Records of 1910,¹ the value of those Records to historical students would have been greatly enhanced. With ample space at their disposal, and guided by personal knowledge or by a lively tradition of official procedure and customs now disused, the Victorian Record Officers might have built up the Records of these Courts and Departments in some coherent order. For, since 1838, practically all the judicial, and since 1852 all the administrative, Records of the State had been entrusted to their care to be cleaned and sorted, arranged and catalogued, as they should think fit.

Even if they had done no more than to preserve all the surviving Records from insidious decay or deliberate destruction, we should be in a far better position now. We should have, as it were, three separate heaps of documents to deal with: one containing the Records that exist to-day; another those that have

¹ This attempt was made by the present writer, for the information of the Commission; and that even such an isolated undertaking was practicable is shown by the returns that are printed in many pages of that Report, including estimates of the bulk of the Records transferred and outstanding (cf. 1912 Report, Appx. (II), pp. 11-24, 26-9, 115-28, and 1914 Report, Appx. (II), pp. 1-271).

perished or become useless, since Queen Victoria's accession, from neglect or accident ; and the third such as have been deliberately disposed of by their own custodians.

It might be, and indeed it is often suggested, that we are fortunate to have lost many trivial Records which would have proved a hindrance rather than a help to the historian. But many of those documents were of real value and interest in themselves ; others would have helped to complete the outline of the history of the Empire, to fill in the details of our political and social institutions, and to supply statistics of our commercial progress or industrial welfare. In any case they were needed for an intelligent description of the Records that are to be permanently preserved. As soon as this task had been completed, many of them could have been dispensed with ; but now the task can never be attempted. The harvest of the archives waited over-long to be reaped and carried ; for the labourers were occupied in sampling the grain of a standing crop of which we are now vainly seeking to glean the scattered ears.

THE MORAL OF ' MUDDLING THROUGH '

It might be thought that the fate of the Victorian archives would have served as a warning to a later generation of administrators ; but this, unfortunately, seems not to be the case. Although the Public Record Office will admit of little further expansion, no attempt has been made by the Government to cope effectually with the immense accumulation of Records noted by the recent Commission.¹

Not content with the identification of these records, the Commissioners were also able to present important recommendations for their disposal ; but for reasons that have not been stated, the powers that be have turned once more to the expedient of storing Public Records that cannot be summarily disposed of. There is reason to fear that much loss and inconvenience to future students may result from this expedient, unless the methods and exhortations of the Royal Commission are taken to heart by Parliament.

In any case the assertion that political or financial considera-

¹ The public-spirited and scholarly interest taken in the disposal of the War Records by Sir Alfred Mond and H.M. Office of Works has been previously referred to (p. 105).

tions have deterred the Government from making an adequate provision for the custody and description of the Archives of the War is unconvincing. The blessing of peace has come to the nations without inspiring a spirit of forgiveness, or an earnest purpose to make good the common losses of our civilization. It is for this reason alone that the authentic sources of the most momentous event in the history of Europe since the French Revolution must continue to lack the accommodation and attention that are necessary to make them secure and accessible to the historian of these times.

CHAPTER VII

THE ARCHIVES OF SCOTLAND, IRELAND, WALES, AND THE CHANNEL ISLANDS

Vicissitudes of the National Archives — Scottish Public Records — Scottish Local Records — Irish Public Records — Irish Local Records — The Welsh Records — Report of the Royal Commission on Welsh Records (1910) — Literature of the Welsh Archives — Archives of the Channel Islands — Records of the World War.

THE British Archives necessarily comprise the national records of Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, together with those of the Channel Islands, the Isle of Man, and the Hebrides. The archives of the British Dominions, Crown Colonies, and other dependencies over seas will be dealt with in another chapter.¹

A fairly extensive survey of these archives has been carried out in recent years ; but much remains to be done in reconstructing the earlier history of their custody. We also find that very heavy losses of Public Records have been suffered in each case partly from external violence and partly through internal discords. Considerable differences can be observed in the nature of the records as well as in the method of their custody and in the means of their description.

Again, there are important differences in the scope and method of the administration of the several archives and, for the purpose of their study, these will need careful comparison and co-ordination. Generally speaking, however, England, as the predominant partner, has obtained from a united Parliament a better provision for the custody and description of her own records and greater facilities for their use. Indeed, from first to last the political relations between the Empire Kingdom and the nations that were in turn its vassals, federals, and peers, have strongly influenced the character of their respective archives.²

VICISSITUDES OF THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

We shall find that both Scotland and Ireland possessed a central repository for their State Archives earlier than England.

¹ Chap. VIII.

² See pp. 144, 174.

In Wales, indeed, the judicial records date back to the Union in 1543, as a national collection.

The treasuries of Scottish records were depleted as a deliberate policy of the Edwardian conquest, and a still more extensive transfer followed the victories of the Independents over the Presbyterians and their royalist allies under the Commonwealth. Ireland was never systematically despoiled of judicial records, though frequent transfers to London were made, during the overlordship, from the courts at Dublin; while, in later times, many papers of State were removed from Dublin Castle by retiring viceroys. In the case of Wales, there is no record of any removal of the archives of the native princes at the date of the Edwardian annexation, nor any definite traces of the existence or fate of such archives.¹

In each case, though by different means, for different ends, the royal archives of England had been enriched at the expense of the national records of her sister states or dependencies, and a glance at the official 'Guide' to the English Public Records will show the extent and interest of these transmissions. This statement, of course, applies more particularly to the period preceding the several Acts of Union. Thenceforth matters of high policy and imperial administration have been recorded in the central archives or branch offices of an administration seated in London. At the same time all the older records, with the accruing records of the several administrations and Courts of Justice, have been retained in the respective national repositories.

When a Royal Commission was appointed in 1910 to report on the Public Records of England and Wales, Scottish and Irish nationalists hastened to assure themselves that no jurisdiction would be exercised over the records of those countries. This sensitiveness of the sister kingdoms on the subject of their archives is in keeping with an older theory of nationality.

The recent proceedings of the Peace Conference have shown us that, in practice, the question of nationality involves the further question of the possession of national archives. We know

¹ During the period of military annexation, following the Statute of Wales, the main archives of the northern and southern provinces were centred respectively at Carnarvon and Carmarthen, whence periodical returns of accounts and judicial proceedings reached the Treasury of Records at Westminster.

that in England this has been, since Saxon times, an essential attribute of the kingly state. We have seen that in Scotland and Ireland the idea of nationality is associated with national archives, and in both countries separate record establishments are still maintained. These exist even in the tiny Channel Islands, which, like the Isle of Man, are justly proud of their ancient records. Those shrewd, hard-headed islanders know well the value of their records ; and the English departments of State are made aware of this when they engage in constitutional controversies with the loyal subjects of the ' Duke of Normandy '.

It is obviously impossible, within the narrow limits of this essay, to relate the vicissitudes of the several archives, or to review the successive measures that were designed or adopted for their partial centralization in national repositories. In each case the precaution was necessary, owing to the disturbed condition of these countries ; and in each case it was taken too late to save a large percentage of the Public Records. Their common fate, which differed only in degree from that of the English records, may be summarized in the following dictum of a modern historian :

Many perished by accidents of various kinds, many were lost ; those which survived were ill arranged and inaccessible ; there was a great number of repositories of records, and there were no competent officers in charge of them.¹

SCOTTISH PUBLIC RECORDS

The losses suffered by the Scottish archives before the Treaty of Union are historical. But we are not properly informed whether the union of the Crowns, which naturally diminished the output of State documents, was also conducive to the loss of records by transmission to England, or through neglectful custody during a vice-royalty.² It would seem, in any case, that the records remained unheeded from 1660 to 1753, when their condition was found to be appalling. This was partly due to the transfer of the

¹ Memorandum by Sir C. H. Firth in Third Report of the Royal Commission on Public Records, Appx. (II), p. 57.

² It is certain that in 1651 the greater part of the Chancery registers was removed by Cromwell to London. Some were restored in 1657 ; but more were lost by shipwreck on their way back to Scotland in 1660. This disturbance is evidently responsible for the loss of many surviving records by neglectful custody, in spite of an Article in the Treaty of Union recognizing their national interest.

central administration to England¹ and especially to the non-existence of a national Parliament which would doubtless, like the Parliament of England and Ireland, have occupied itself seriously with the state of the Public Records. The impression caused by the bad state of the records had the effect of expediting the building of a General Register House which was ready for their reception in 1784.

But though the Scottish records were safely housed before those of England and Ireland, an Act for regulating the custody of the Public Records of Scotland was not passed until the end of the reign of George III,² and the existing establishment was not provided until late in the reign of Queen Victoria.³ Even now the constitution of the archives is more archaic than that of any other collection in North-western Europe.⁴

It is a curious fact that, in spite of national sensitiveness on the subject of the custody of Public Records since 1707, the Record Commission of 1800 was empowered to overhaul the Scottish archives in *pari materia* with those of England and Wales, although Ireland had a separate Commission for that purpose. The circumstance is fortunate, since a valuable return of the contemporary Scottish archives is thus available.⁵ A few years later (1807) the reforms begun by the Commissioners took effect, and can be traced in the Annual Reports of the Deputy Clerk Registrar from 1807 to 1868.⁶

The destination and disposal of more recent archives is a problem that has scarcely yet been considered apart from the convenient assumption of an official ownership in London.

¹ The secretarial State Papers are preserved in London from 1603. The main revenue records are also to be found there from 1707 to 1833, since the revenue departments of the sister kingdoms are regarded as mere branches of the central Boards.

² 49 Geo. III and 55 Geo. III.

³ 42-3 Vict. c. 44 (1879), whereby the Deputy Clerk Registrar became the Keeper of the Records. Besides this judicial head there is a Deputy Keeper and a Curator; but the distinction between the judicial and historical aspects of the Records is still preserved.

⁴ Space could not be found in this work for a description of the distinctive features of the Scottish records, with their interesting traces of a foreign affinity, displayed in notarial formulas and in a marked preference for registration to enrolment. It may be noted, however, that they are especially valuable for the study of economic and social conditions during an earlier state of war.

⁵ 1800 Report, pp. 393-494. Scotland was not, however, included in the General Report of the Commissioners published in 1837.

⁶ See also C. Innes, *National MSS.* (Scotland), Introd. An instructive and suggestive note on the recent study and publication of Scottish records was contributed by Professor R. K. Hannay to *Transactions Roy. Hist. Soc.*, 4th Ser., vol. ii.

SCOTTISH LOCAL RECORDS

Scotland, like Ireland, is rich in local records ; or rather, such as survive have been diligently studied and carefully edited by Learned Societies, whose labours have been worthily chronicled by Professor Sandford Terry.¹ The editions of Local Records by the Bannantyne and Maitland Clubs, the Scottish Historical Society, and, especially, by the Scottish Burgh Records Society, are of the highest merit and they have been supplemented by the Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission and by individual enterprise.²

The public libraries³ have also played a useful part in the salvage of stray documents and, in recent times, the *Scottish Historical Review* and other periodical publications have lent weight to the theory and practice of historical method in respect of publications of the national history.⁴

IRISH PUBLIC RECORDS

It is characteristic of a zealous and competent archivist that he should regard earlier methods of custody as inadequate.⁵ There is no room for doubt that the condition of the Public Records of Ireland was, if possible, worse than that of England and Scotland, and that it was not materially improved until the appointment of the Record Commission of 1810. Even so, a Public Record Office Act for Ireland was not passed till 1867.

The existing distribution of the Irish archives bears striking testimony to the necessity for centralization as the only sure remedy for the neglect or maltreatment of the Records. From the twelfth century onwards, no documents outside the walls of Dublin Castle, or of the strong towns, were safe during a perennial warfare of rapine and retaliation ; and they are not safe to-day.

In Dublin, however, as in London, a concentration of the records was exceptional, and a large proportion continued to be preserved

¹ *Scottish Historical Clubs and Societies* (1909).

² See Index to Historical MSS. Commission (Scotland), by C. S. Terry (1908).

³ e. g. the Advocates, Signet, and Edinburgh University Libraries.

⁴ For a select classified bibliography see H. Hall, *Bibliography of Mediaeval Economic History*, pp. 9, 18, 129-36. The subject of the Local War Records of Great Britain generally is dealt with in another chapter.

⁵ See Mr. Herbert Wood's *Guide to the Public Record Office of Ireland* (1920). This valuable work is supplemented by an interesting communication in the *Transactions of the Roy. Hist. Soc.*, 4th Ser., vol. ii.

in the private offices or houses of the respective clerks down to the middle of the nineteenth century. Here, too, the Courts of Chancery and Common Law, which were constituted on the same plan as those of England, had given birth to an infinite number of subsidiary departments.

During the eighteenth century the Irish Parliament issued fruitless inquiries and reports as to the state of the Public Records ; but from the year 1771 the project of a general repository began to take shape. The new building for the Four Courts, on the site of the King's Inns, assisted towards the concentration of the records. This site was earmarked for the future Public Record Office by an Act of 1814, and the designs for the building figure in the Second Report of the Record Commissioners, where they seem to represent a compromise between a Greek temple and a doll's house ; for the founders' ideal was not attained by reason of official parsimony.¹

In the nineteenth century, in spite of various attempts at reform,² conditions remained most unsatisfactory.

At last, however, in 1867, the existing Public Record Office was established by Act of Parliament. Thenceforth its proceedings can be traced in the Annual Reports of the Deputy Keepers and in the official series of Irish Record Publications ; reference being also made, with advantage, to the Reports of the Record Commission of 1810-30.

On constitutional grounds we should expect that the nature of the Irish Public Records would approximate closely to the English model ; but although this is the case, there are some

¹ 1810 Report, Plate XVIII.

² The Record Commission for Ireland, appointed in 1810, was forced to set up a tower in Dublin Castle as a temporary repository, with a branch repository for the Revenue records in the old Custom House. In 1848, following the lead of England, a Royal Commission recommended that all the Public Records of Ireland be placed under the charge and superintendence of the Irish Master of the Rolls, and a Bill for erecting a Public Record Office was introduced, but was shelved by the Treasury (cf. Thomas, *Public Departments*, p. 127 ; Reports of the Record Commissioners for Ireland, 1810 sq. ; 'On the History, &c., of the Public Records of Ireland by an Irish Archivist' (1864)). As time went by a lively agitation was carried on by the Irish antiquaries of that time before the hand of the Treasury could be forced. In 1863 'an Irish archivist' wrote that the Public Records were still dumped in the Four Courts, where they lay 'practically inaccessible . . . covered with filth, becoming obliterated by damp', and so little known, even to their paid keepers, that only one member of the staff could read records of an earlier date than the reign of Queen Anne (cf. Gilbert, *op. cit.*, p. 6). Another cause of the neglect of the records may once more be found in the eagerness of the Record Commissioners to describe and publish records rather than to put them in order.

notable exceptions, partly due to the wider scope of the Public Record Office Act of 1867.¹ This measure not only elucidates the policy of the Irish administration towards the Public Records of that country; it also serves as a valuable commentary on the English Public Record Office Act of 1838 and its official interpretation down to the appointment of the Royal Commission of 1910.

The interpretation of the provisions of the Act of 1838 by English Record Officers, which was not wholly accepted by the Royal Commission of 1910, is not justified either by the theory or the practice of the Irish Record Act. That measure regards the statutory definition of 'Public Records' as including State Papers and Departmental documents with judicial records.² In fact the Act places the Departmental Records already collected in a temporary repository³ in the immediate custody of the Master of the Rolls. All the remaining Public Records, not scheduled in Section IV of the Act, were to be brought in by Order in Council; and even the State Papers of the Secretariat in Dublin Castle were placed under the charge and superintendence of the Master of the Rolls, to be transferred to the Public Record Office fifty years after their date. These provisions are in striking contrast with the contention of the English record officers, obediently adopted by the English Masters of the Rolls, that all State Papers and Departmental Records are the separate property of the respective authorities, who alone are responsible for their custody or competent to make regulations for their public use. The Irish Act of 1867 not only supplies a valuable commentary on the English Act of 1838, but sets an example that might well be followed in respect of

¹ An exceedingly instructive analysis of the Irish Public Record Office Act, by Professor Firth, is printed in the 1919 Report, Appx. (II), pp. 57-62. By reason of the close proximity between the English and Irish records, and possibly owing to neglect of the science of archives in these islands, the Act of 1867 was closely modelled on that of 1838. The few divergences that occur are partly due to the existence of different conditions; partly to a different interpretation of the same conditions; and in each case the result has considerable significance to students of the archives. Among the altered circumstances of the case, the completion of the new Public Record Office, the issue of the Order in Council of March 1852 for bringing in all outstanding records, and the legislation relating to Ecclesiastical Court records in 1857 should be noticed.

² Sect. xx of the Act of 1838.

³ The Custom House, Dublin, a repository established in 1832. Since this was written, that fine building has been destroyed by an incendiary act, and the originals or copies of many revenue and other records have been destroyed. This disaster, however, has been eclipsed by the destruction of the Four Courts at Dublin (including the Public Record Office), as the result of their occupation by Irish 'Irregulars'.

the salvage or control of records of a public nature which were overlooked or ignored in the administration of the English measure.¹

In addition to these definite accretions, the Irish Master of the Rolls was authorized to receive and hold as Public Records any documents in the custody of trustees that seemed worthy to be deposited in the Public Record Office.

IRISH LOCAL RECORDS

Nearly twenty years after the passing of the Act of 1867, the section which authorized the calling in of documents of a public nature was utilized for the purpose of transferring the neglected County Records of Ireland to safe custody in the Dublin Public Record Office. This action was unfortunately too late to save a large proportion of the records, and even then the transfers, begun in 1885, were not completed till 1908.² Another intervention, which also has no counterpart in the English archive system, was meant to secure the Parish Registers from destruction after the disestablishment of the Irish Church. In this case two Acts of Parliament were passed in 1875 and 1876, placing the Parochial Records in the custody of the Master of the Rolls or under his charge and superintendence as he thought fit. This compromise debarred the Irish record officers from taking over these neglected records summarily, under an Order in Council. The inevitable result was that less than half the Parish Registers were brought in, and those outstanding continued to be neglected, misappropriated, or destroyed. Even so, however, the intervention of the State to secure the better custody of the neglected County and Parish records, by means either of removal or of supervision, was a step in advance of the English position in the matter, and anticipated one of the recommendations of the Royal Commission of 1910 by more than thirty years.

¹ Among other collections specifically placed in the custody or charge of the Irish Master of the Rolls were the records of ecclesiastical courts affected by the Acts of 1857, the documents of all Commissions or other Public Offices that have ceased to exist, and the Landed Estates Record Office.

² Besides these ordinary civil records the Dublin Public Record Office should also have inherited a large and valuable collection of records of extinct Palatinates and Liberties. These, like the parallel archives in England, Scotland, and the Proprietary Colonies of North America, have not been fully accounted for, though exceptions are found in the case of Durham, Ely, Chester, and Lancaster.

THE WELSH RECORDS

The bulk of the surviving Scottish and Irish records¹ are preserved in their own national archives, while the nationality of the documents relating to those countries preserved in London is carefully distinguished both in the classification of the archives and in the publication of the Records and State Papers. It is otherwise in the case of Wales. Here many 'documents' that were formerly preserved under the distinctive heading *Wallia* have now been partially absorbed into the English series; and at the present time the 'Welsh documents', as a class, can scarcely be said to exist.

In the matter of the survival of Public Records the fortune of nations has differed greatly. Poland ceased to be a nation, but her national archives were well preserved.² Holland and Belgium became kingdoms in recent time, and local muniments straightway became Departmental Archives. Ireland, as a lordship and as a subject kingdom, kept her national Records; while Scotland, a neighbour state, lost many that were carried to London as the spoils of war. Year by year French scholars visit our Archives to consult records transferred by English administrators. The case of Wales is a peculiar one. Here the national Records are no longer preserved in the Principality.³

In 1830 the judicial functions of the Courts of Great Sessions were abolished, and their records were placed under the charge and superintendence of the Master of the Rolls by the Public Record Office Act of 1838. Thereupon the record officers proceeded to survey the ramshackle Welsh repositories, with a view to the removal of their contents to London.⁴ The contemptuous

¹ See above, p. 143, n. 2.

² The identification and recovery of these archives, which were restored to the new-born Republic under the Peace of Versailles, have presented many difficulties, as in the case of the redeemed provinces of Northern Italy. Fortunately in each case the problem has engaged the attention of highly competent archivists in every country.

³ Such as may have existed prior to 1284 have long since perished. From Edward I's conquest to Henry VIII's annexation the Welsh judicial Records have been fitfully preserved with the surviving Assize Rolls of the English Courts; but from 1542 to 1830 the Welsh Records were preserved in local repositories, while the English Assize Rolls since the Tudor period have perished in the custody of Clerks of the Assizes. Among the Welsh judicial Records there is a large quantity of subsidiary documents, some of which throw welcome light upon the economic and social condition of the country (cf. First Report of Public Records Commission (1912), Appx. (II), p. 158 sq.).

⁴ Lord Langdale's official Letter Book indicates that in 1837 the Record Commission

treatment of the Welsh Courts of Justice in 1830 seems to have been extended to their records.

The story of the survey of the Welsh records in 1839, and again in 1854-5, has often been told, and a moral has been drawn from two opposite points of view. On the one side, the gross neglect of the judicial records is regarded as being characteristic of the inefficiency of the Welsh local administration; on the other side, it is pointed out that this system was 'made in England', that the condition of the English records was possibly worse than that of the Welsh, and that all efforts made or guarantees offered by the local authorities for improving the custody of the records were wilfully ignored.

It may be asked why the Welsh nationalists of the early Victorian period allowed their records to be taken from them, in contempt of the Act of Union; for we may believe that if the national custody of the Scottish or Irish, or even of the Jersey or Manx records had been threatened, a determined resistance would have been offered.

In the case of Wales, the records were removed on the plausible pretext of public advantage and economy, while the scheme was engineered by the most powerful force in politics—the legal profession. Even so, there were strong protests and a sense of injustice has remained; but it was not till the spirit of national emulation was aroused that any practical measures were taken for the recovery and centralization of the Welsh records; for when once a national right or custom is lost, it is not easily recovered.¹

The truth is that the Welsh Records were not officially regarded as a national collection. The Principality was classed as an extinct Palatinate, and the shires, towns, and dioceses of Wales were merged in English lists.

We have seen that in both Scotland and Ireland the retention

had made some inquiries on the subject of the Welsh Records. In August 1838 an inspection of the Welsh Repositories had been suggested before the appointment of the first Deputy Keeper.

¹ The decision to remove the Welsh Records, including those of the palatinate of Chester, to London, is to be regretted in the interests of the students of English and Welsh history alike. This bulky transmission presumably occupied the space that should have been immediately filled by outlying English Records, such as those of the palatinates of Durham and of Ely, and a countless collection of departmental Records, dating from the twelfth century to the nineteenth, some of which are still outstanding, while still more are known to have perished within living memory.

of the national archives carried with it the privilege of publishing a considerable portion of their contents in an official series. The loss of this prestige might therefore be regarded as a serious drawback to the modern student of Welsh history who sets out upon his task without a share in the advantages enjoyed by his English, Scottish, and Irish fellow students. On the other hand, it is a matter for congratulation that a considerable proportion of the manuscripts which illustrate Welsh native law and tribal custom, as well as the distinctive literature of the race, is now safely housed in a National Library under the charge of an indefatigable librarian : that, thanks to the energy and skill of native editors, working texts of so many of these interesting remains are available for study. On this firm foundation, supplemented by the labours of the Welsh Commission for the preservation of Ancient Monuments, and the archaeological and literary surveys, supervised by distinguished scholars, the student may now begin to build up the national history of a later period from the existing archives. Moreover, numerous historical documents will also be found in public libraries and private collections, the greater number of which have been carefully described.

REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON WELSH RECORDS

The general conclusion that must be drawn from a retrospect of the vicissitudes of the Welsh Records and from a careful survey of the surviving collections is unfavourable to the prospects of historical students. At the same time it is discreditable to the official custodians of local records and discouraging to those who have taken part in the movement for the consolidation of these national relics.

In spite of the earnest and convincing recommendations of the Royal Commission of 1910, nothing has been done to account for the Public Records which existed in Wales at the date of the Act of Union, or to restore them to the Principality.

The Report of the Royal Commission also reveals the lamentable state of many Local Records of a public nature in Wales and Monmouthshire. The County Records in the custody of the Clerks of the Peace, which should date back to the middle of the sixteenth century, rarely exist before the middle of the eighteenth

century: the Petty Sessions records,¹ which included many interesting types of native jurisdiction, are for the most part represented by casual specimens among the Public Records and certain private collections. Out of forty Welsh boroughs circularized by the Royal Commission of 1910, more than half were either unable to account for their early judicial records, or no longer had possession of them. The records of some thirty ancient Welsh boroughs, disfranchised in 1835, were brought under a statutory scheme in 1883 whereby they should have been scheduled as Town Trusts. The Royal Commission of 1910, however, reported that, in most cases, the provisions of the Act had been ignored or disregarded, and that these public Trusts were either non-existent or shamefully neglected. The records of the Welsh parishes were in an equally unsatisfactory state,² and the Royal Commission was justified in recommending that the sorry remnants of these neglected ecclesiastical records (including those deposited in the Probate Registries) should be transferred to or placed under the supervision of a Public Record Office for Wales.³

The Commissioners felt bound to make the same recommendation in the case of records in the custody of various statutory Authorities or Trusts, for 'in Wales, more than in any other part of the United Kingdom, the Local Records have been allowed to perish through neglect, or through some lapse of custody have come into the possession of private individuals'.

LITERATURE OF THE WELSH ARCHIVES

In spite of these discouraging conditions, the national and local records of Wales have been studied and edited with vigour and success.⁴ They can also boast of a classification and description more complete and comprehensive than those of Scotland or Ireland.⁵ Moreover, the Welsh nation had its national records

¹ In distinction to those of the Great Sessions: these include such types as records of commotes, towns, and manorial courts.

² Not one of the Welsh bishops made any return to the Local Records Committee in 1900, and only one responded (through his Registrar) to the inquiry of the Royal Commission of 1910. The reticence of the Welsh diocesan clergy may be significant as to the condition of the records in their custody; but it is not helpful to students or to antiquaries who might assist in the recovery or arrangement of the records.

³ Third Report, pp. 33-4. Since the disestablishment and disendowment of the Welsh Church these ecclesiastical records have presumably been in the custody of the Welsh Church Commissioners.

⁴ Above, p. 153.

⁵ The best guide to the historical documents preserved in Wales and London will

established by Act of Parliament one hundred and fifty years before those of Scotland and two hundred and fifty years before those of Ireland. It follows, therefore, that the Welsh ideal of nationality cannot be complete without national archives, in addition to the national bond of language and the national customs and emblems. For these archives are of the greatest assistance for the discovery and publication of the truth about its history, which is necessary for the well-being of every nation, great or small.

ARCHIVES OF THE CHANNEL ISLANDS

We know that the later Anglo-Saxon kings used to affect the style of sovereigns of the nations dwelling round the British coasts. For practical purposes, the only distinctive archives of the adjacent islands are those established in Jersey, Guernsey, and the Isle of Man. Other islands, such as the Hebrides and the Isle of Wight, form part of the administrative system of the adjacent mainland.¹ The archives of the Channel Islands are of special interest as forming a link between the British and Continental systems of archive economy. The judicial records under the superintendence of the Bailiff of Jersey, as President of the Royal Court of Legislative Assembly, are in the actual custody of the Greffiers, or Registrars of the Acts of the Royal Court and States, and of contracts relating to land. There is also a register of Orders in Council, from the sixteenth century; and there are Archives of the Ecclesiastical Court. These national records date from the fifteenth century,² and they are

be found in the First and Third Reports of the Royal Commission on Public Records (1912 and 1919). These are supplemented by classified lists in articles by the present writer published in the Cymmrodorion Society's *Transactions* (1896 and 1914-15), *Y Cymmrodor*, vols. xxii and xxvii, and the *Library Association Record*, September-October 1918. The Eighteenth Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission contains a classified list of the Welsh collections reported on to date, including Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans's important monograph of early Welsh manuscripts. Mr. Edward Owen's admirable *Catalogue of MSS. relating to Wales in the British Museum* (1900) is indispensable, and the Parliamentary Papers analysed in the *Repertory of British Archives* (Part I) will apply equally to Wales. A valuable note by Mr. John Ballinger on the manuscripts in the National Library of Wales is printed in *Transactions Roy. Hist. Soc.*, 4th Ser., vol. ii. Further references will be found in the *Transactions of the Cymmrodorion Society* (admirably edited by Sir Vincent Evans) and the valuable researches of Principal J. H. Davies, Prof. E. A. Lewis, and other Welsh scholars.

¹ The islands last mentioned formerly possessed archives of considerable interest. For the Isle of Wight see 1914 Report, Appx. (II), p. 115.

² An interesting description of the records is given in the evidence of Sir W. Vernon Venables, Bailiff of Jersey, printed in the 1914 Report, Appx. (III), pp. 74-9.

supplemented by the departmental records of the District Office at St. Helier, from the beginning of the nineteenth century, with military records from the same period.¹ The Public Records of Guernsey are of a like nature, on a smaller scale, and they are preserved in a similar official custody.² A detailed return of the records in Government House is printed by the Public Records Commission.³ The same Report also contains exact information respecting the Public Records of the Isle of Man in the custody of the Clerk of the Rolls, namely the Proceedings of the Superior Courts and of the Tynwald Court, Registers of Deeds, and transcripts of Parish Registers. The judicial and fiscal records date from the sixteenth century and the Registers from the Restoration. There are also several modern statutory Registries, together with official records, at Government House dating back to 1781.

These collections have been described in the valuable Reports of the Public Records Commission of 1910.⁴ Much information relating to Jersey will be found in the publications of the Société Jersiaise, which has also taken note of documents preserved in the Public Record Office, London.

RECORDS OF THE WORLD WAR

In Scotland and Ireland the pre-War departments which could be utilized for the national service were of three types. First there were the national establishments of the Royal or Vice-regal Household, the Privy Council, Courts of Justice, and Secretariat. Secondly, there were the counterparts of certain English public departments, such as the Board of Agriculture. Thirdly, there were branches of other public departments in London, such as the Naval, Military and Revenue departments, the Stationery Office and the Office of Works, the Board of Trade, Ministry of Labour, and General Registry. In addition there were the central archives in Edinburgh and Dublin with district registries or archives and public institutions in the nature of archives such as the Signet, Advocates Libraries at Edinburgh, the Mitchell Library at Glasgow, and Trinity College, Dublin.

¹ These formerly included records relating to the Russian Army quartered in Jersey in 1798, but they are believed to have been appropriated by a former bailiff (1914 Report, Appx. (III), p. 74).

² 1914 Report, Appx. (II), p. 74.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, p. 72 sq.

In Wales there were no important departments or branches,¹ but the great National Library at Aberystwyth and some other public institutions were prepared to collect and preserve local records illustrating the part that the Welsh nation has played in the economic and social history of the World War.²

In Scotland, Ireland, and Wales there were branch establishments of the new War Ministries which in some cases possessed archives of a special economic or social interest. These official documents, however, like those produced and preserved in the pre-War departments, must be regarded as Public Records in the charge and superintendence of the Master of the Rolls: in fact a very large proportion of the Records in question has indeed been already partially disposed of under Statutory Schedules procured by the head-quarters staffs.

The above Local Records were partially reported on by the Committee of 1899-1902,³ and those of Wales have been included in the Third Report of the Royal Commission of 1910.⁴

The Local War Records of Scotland have been described in the Report of the Local War Records Committee (1920),⁵ from information communicated by Professor W. R. Scott, and some local collections have been deposited in the Mitchell Library at Glasgow.

Some observations on the general distribution and condition of these War Records will be found in Chapter V, and further details are given in Appendix E.

¹ The departments then existing were enumerated by Miss M. F. Hall in an appendix to a paper by the present writer in the *Transactions* of the Cymmrodorion Society for 1916.

² A scheme for a National War Museum for Wales was discussed by a Committee before the scheme for an Imperial War Museum was completed.

³ Below, p. 230 sq.

⁴ Above, pp. 153-4.

⁵ *History*, January 1922, pp. 247-58.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ARCHIVES OF THE BRITISH DOMINIONS AND DEPENDENCIES

Archive Economy as a National Policy — The Provenance of Colonial Archives — The Canadian Archives — The Australian Archives — The South African Archives — The Archives of the Crown Colonies — The East Indian Archives — War Archives of the British Dominions.

IT is a well-known fact that a very large proportion of the documents which form the most authentic materials for the early history of former or existing British Colonies (including those which now have national rank as 'the Dominions') are for the most part preserved only in the archives of the Mother Country.¹

Down to the year 1775 the British Government, represented successively by the Secretary of State for the Southern Department and by the Secretary for the Colonies, was inevitably the central authority to which the Governments of the Colonies then existing were subordinated. As the seat of this central government was in London, and as there was no viceregal establishment or colonial secretariat in America, all official business was transacted directly between the Secretary of State and the Colonial Governors.

During the American Revolution there was, unfortunately, a serious destruction of Colonial Records, and American historians are therefore largely dependent on the London archives for the original sources of their history before 1783.²

The same fate has befallen a large proportion of the early records of the North American and West Indian Colonies, in which capture and recapture, cession and retrocession, have played havoc with the Colonial archives, already decimated by native fires and ravages of insect pests.

The case of the other great colonies is somewhat different,

¹ Below, pp. 171-2.

² From 1775, partially, and definitely from 1781, under the future Department of State for Foreign Affairs, a series of national American records had already begun. As compared with other colonies, however, a larger percentage of State archives continued to be preserved on 'the other side': for in the American colonies British officials were restrained from carrying away official papers (as they had done elsewhere) owing to the requirements and procedure of Colonial Councils and Assemblies.

for the Australian and South African archives have not been exposed to the devastating effects of foreign or civil war. On the other hand, early racial and political jealousies prevented the recognition of the value of these national records, with the result that the archives were found to be almost destitute of materials for the earlier colonial history.

ARCHIVE ECONOMY AS A NATIONAL POLICY

In our own time, however, the Dominion and Union Governments have set themselves to fill this void. For nearly fifty years past the Canadian Government has been engaged in the gigantic task of transcribing the State Papers relating to the Dominion preserved in British and Continental archives, and during the greater part of this period the Governments of New South Wales and South Africa have employed copyists and editors for a like purpose. The result of these patriotic activities is seen in an extensive series of publications which occupy an important place among the historical collections relating to the British Empire. Moreover, for propaganda purposes the value of these historical reports, descriptive Guides, and selected texts is considerable, and has been duly appreciated by business Governments.

At the same time the internal economy of Archives must not be sacrificed to official window-dressing. It is the first duty of all archivists to prepare and publish inventories, alike for the security of the documents and for the information of students. More extensive descriptions or reproductions should be the archivist's ambition, but not his sole achievement in that direction. There is every reason to believe that the value of this practical and systematic method of archive-economy has been fully appreciated by the 'self-governing Colonies', for their own national archives, like those of the Mother-Country, have suffered from its neglect.

For a long time past the care of the State Archives has been in every country a precept chiefly honoured by those who value the public interest above their own convenience or inclination. But even when a nation has taken matters of this sort into its own hands, it has been found expedient to entrust the care of archives to a service of trained archivists. The professional skill

and zeal of such experts has made the administration of the archives in France, Belgium, and Holland a model of scholarly efficiency. There can be little doubt that the influence of this example has been felt in more than one of the British Dominions. The Colonists of Canada and South Africa can claim relationship with nations that for a long time past have led the way in perfecting the arrangement and use of archives. The influence of heredity herein may be an insignificant factor; but national sentiment is a powerful force in the suggestion of national policy, so that where Canada and South Africa have made progress, Australia also must advance.

THE PROVENANCE OF COLONIAL ARCHIVES

It is obvious that the nature and use of all Colonial Records must vary to some extent in accordance with the physical and political conditions of the country and the racial characteristics or constitutional principles of its inhabitants. Generally, the constituent elements of the Colonial archives approximate to the following normal types. In many cases there will be a class of early records antecedent to the period of the British occupation. These records represent an administrative system that has been superseded or modified in various degrees, and they are therefore of interest for a comparative study of the French, Spanish, Dutch, and British Colonial systems. When this element is represented, it forms the nucleus of the true Colonial archives, comprising usually the executive and legislative records of Council and Assembly, the judicial records of native courts of justice, and various local and communal records. These archives are essential to the well-being of the Colonists, and have rarely been at the disposal of the outgoing or incoming authority. The pre-Conquest archives may include also Papers of State, in the shape of the correspondence between former colonial officials and home governments, which have not been reserved to the old régime in the terms of cession or brought into the British archives as prize or booty.¹

The post-Conquest archives are co-extensive with the period of British rule or headship and comprise the Colonial archives,

¹ Some important correspondence relating to British Guiana has been deposited among the Colonial Office Records in this way; cf. 1914 Report, Appx. (II), p. 120.

whether concentrated in a general repository or distributed in Government Houses, Parliament Houses, Secretariat and Departmental Offices, or in Courts of Justice and Statutory Registries, central or provincial.¹ These can be supplemented or elucidated from the London archives, including not only the Colonial Office records but also those of many other Departments.

Finally, there may be original records of the pre-Conquest period preserved in foreign archives, where valuable information may also be discovered among the reports of Foreign Consuls or diplomatic agents.

It is not the purpose of the present essay to present the reader with a comprehensive history or description of the several archives. Even in the most summary form such an attempt would be impracticable, or at least unreadable. The following remarks are based on personal impressions of the policy and methods of certain Colonial Governments during the last forty years, rather than on the printed literature of the Colonial archives, which has been cited only to substantiate definite statements or to suggest fruitful lines of research. The present writer might well be tempted to indulge in personal reminiscences of two generations of Colonial archivists, or agents, whose labours it has been his official privilege to supervise. Such a digression, however, is not warranted by a true perspective of the mission of a British archivist.

THE CANADIAN ARCHIVES

Among the archives of the British Empire those of the Dominion of Canada occupy a unique position. In no other State of the Empire has the cult of archives been practised with the same devotion or success; and though the Dominion archives can boast no high antiquity, compared with those of some other Colonies, they supply a valuable object-lesson to the Empire at large.

Under the French régime, each of the three provincial governments of Quebec, Montreal, and Three Rivers was responsible for the custody of its own archives, and the bulk of the existing

¹ Other repositories may, of course, be met with; especially, in recent times, the Public Libraries. In practice it is always a difficult task to account for the records of the various Government Departments.

records, other than those relating to judicial proceedings, was retained by the French authorities under the Capitulation of 1760. A return was made in 1787 of the judicial and notarial records, including those of the new courts set up in 1760. Between 1791 and 1867 many records disappeared, owing to the absence of a central seat of government, in spite of the Union of the Upper and Lower Provinces in 1840. In 1867, however, Record Offices were established by the Secretary of State in charge of a Deputy Keeper and Registrar, as custodians, respectively, of papers and instruments of State.

In 1871 a Dominion Archivist was appointed in charge of an Archives Branch of the Ministry of Agriculture.¹ This officer was charged with the description and co-ordination of the records and at first took little part in their custody, which continued in the hands of the Secretary of State. As there was no co-operation between the official custodians, and as moreover they had a very imperfect knowledge of the science of archives, the delicate work of identifying the various classes of official and historical documents in the Paris and London archives was carried on with difficulty and with much waste of labour. In the first years of the present century, however, a greatly improved system was brought into existence through the skill and energy of Dr. A. G. Doughty. In 1904 the departmental establishment of the Secretariat was abolished, and the records were concentrated in public archives in the custody of a Dominion Archivist.

The Public Archives Act of 1912 placed the administration of the Archives under the control of the Government. At the same time steps were taken to bring in the records of Government Departments twenty-five years after date. The Dominion Archives at this date included official correspondence between the provincial governors and the Colonial Office, with other official papers from 1787 to 1841. Besides these there were many duplicates or transcripts of official correspondence of an earlier date. They were supplemented by records of the Councils and

¹ The greatest credit is due to Dr. Brymner, the first Canadian Government archivist, for his dogged courage and perseverance, and he laid the foundations of the existing collection of documents and transcripts on broad and scholarly lines. At the same time neither he nor any other British archivist of that generation possessed the scientific knowledge of the trained Continental archivists which has been acquired by some of their successors.

Assemblies, and records relating to local government, Indian affairs, Naval and Military affairs, &c. Transcripts from Paris and London include historical documents and State Papers from the seventeenth century. Many others have been purchased from or presented by private individuals, while some have been transferred from Government Departments in England, we are told, without lawful authority.¹

The remarkable development of the Canadian Archives since 1867 is not merely due to the genius of an archivist like Dr. A. G. Doughty, assisted by an expert staff and represented by an able lieutenant in Europe;² it was also rendered possible (as we are reminded by a French-Canadian scholar) through the interest taken in the progress of original research by historical students in the Dominion. Their enthusiasm has been backed by liberal Parliamentary grants for the recovery and discovery of manuscript treasure that 'helps to illuminate the History of Canada'.³

The administration of the Dominion Archives in Canada has been able to profit largely from the scientific methods pursued by the Historical Department of the Carnegie Institution at Washington under the very able direction of Dr. J. F. Jameson. It has also been in touch with the archive system practised on the European continent, while it has profited also by the painful evolution of the archive system of this country as recorded in the Reports of successive Royal Commissions.⁴

In this connexion the appointment, in 1907, of a Canadian Historical Manuscripts Commission may be noted, together with the establishment of intimate relations with the Universities and other centres of historical learning;⁵ but the outstanding feature of the Canadian archive régime since 1871 has been the remarkably successful result of the operations for recovering old Colonial records.

¹ 1914 Report, Minutes of Evidence, Q. 4792. This refers to the formality of approval by Parliament of such transfers which are specified in official Schedules.

² Mr. H. P. Biggar. The staff at Ottawa was for a time assisted by Mr. D. W. Parker from the Carnegie Institution, Washington.

³ Report on Public Archives of Canada (1918), p. 7.

⁴ See 1912 Report, Appx. (III), pp. 108-9, for the evidence of Dr. Doughty taken by the Commission. The earlier Reports referred to are mentioned in another chapter (pp. 209-20).

⁵ e. g. *Constitutional Documents, 1759-1791* (Shortt and Doughty). In 1916 a Board of Historical Publications was set up and occupies a building adjoining the Archives. Under its auspices a series of volumes containing materials for Canadian History is in preparation.

The results of this enlightened policy appears in the series of Reports, Guides, Texts, Calendars, Inventories, and other Publications issued under the direction of the Dominion Archives,¹ in addition to a voluminous series of transcripts reproducing the main classes of Canadian correspondence in French and British archives. It may be presumed that these extensive operations will be supplemented in due course by a series of Summary Lists. These, it has been previously suggested,² form the backbone of the printed literature of Archives, and they are equally important to researchers in central or provincial archives, and to historical students abroad.

The centralization of the Canadian Archives has not been carried out to the extreme degree that it has reached in the British Isles, and any attempt in that direction was clearly inexpedient owing to local interests and difficulties of access. Branch offices of the Dominion Archives have been established at Quebec, Montreal, Halifax, and St. John, and any disadvantage connected with decentralization may be remedied by means of a general supervision. Thanks to this expert direction, the local records are well preserved, and they have been carefully described in several official Reports.³

The local patriotism which has been alluded to above is responsible for an interesting development of archive economy. At Quebec, Toronto, and Montreal in particular, semi-official collections of State Papers and family papers have been admirably arranged and displayed at the expense of local benefactors. Here, as in the Dominion Archives at Ottawa, books, prints, pictures, and other historical relics are exhibited with documentary records. A national War Museum is also in course of being equipped with many evidences of the distinguished part that the Dominion played in the World War.

¹ Perhaps the most extensive *Guide to the Canadian Archives* at large is that dealing with materials for United States History in the Dominion prepared by Mr. D. W. Parker and published by the Carnegie Institution (1913). An excellent summary account of the history of the Dominion Archives was contributed by Dr. A. G. Doughty to the *Transactions of the Roy. Hist. Soc.* (3rd Ser., vol. vii). Volume i of a detailed *Guide to the Documents in the Public Archives of Canada* (prepared by Mr. D. W. Parker) has also been issued in the series of 'Publications of the Archives of Canada' (1914). For the activities of the Dominion Record Office during the War see pp. 173-4.

² Above, p. 14.

³ e. g. Report on Public Archives of Canada (1918).

Finally, constant efforts are being made to secure documents of national interest, in the possession of the families of former Governors or Commanding Officers, to supplement the transcripts obtained from Archives abroad.

THE AUSTRALIAN ARCHIVES

The materials that may exist for an adequate history of the Australian archives cannot be ascertained until the archives themselves have been centralized and placed, like those of Canada and South Africa, under the charge of a competent archivist. Hitherto the description of the archives has been somewhat spasmodic and lacking in scientific precision. This is doubtless due to the fact that no colonial antiquary was found in earlier times with a special knowledge of the subject, or with sufficient zeal and industry to carry out the preliminary researches that are necessary for a reconstruction of the archives. In default of this spade-work, the efforts of later administrators and historians have been necessarily directed to the task of justifying the value and interest of the records by the publication of portions of the earlier series. At the same time the greatest credit is due to the Australian men of affairs and letters who have induced the Governments of the several States to sanction a considerable expenditure for supplying transcripts of missing records from the Colonial Office archives in London, as well as for publishing an extensive series of official dispatches and other historical documents.

These essential operations, extending over many years, have placed the public archives of the Commonwealth upon a solid foundation. The work of co-ordinating their establishments and taking stock of their contents can be rapidly accomplished as soon as the necessary formalities have been carried out.

It is certainly desirable that this should be done at the earliest possible moment, for no collection of national archives can be considered either safe or serviceable to the public interests without the systematic and scientific custody that has been established in all progressive countries. The position of the Australian archives, revealed by the Second Report of the Royal Commission in 1914, was one that must have caused some anxiety to students of Colonial History.¹

¹ 1914 Report (II), pp. 77-80.

The ravages of time or, rather, the official negligence which commonly uses depreciation from natural causes as its cloak, have deprived the Commonwealth of the bulk of its earlier records, consisting chiefly of the Governors' Dispatches and the Colonial Office instructions for the period between 1788 and 1800.¹ These indispensable sources for the early colonial history have been replaced (as we have seen) by transcripts made from the Colonial Office Records in London, supplemented, for a later period, by a series of Duplicate Dispatches discarded by the Colonial Office. The archives of the old Land Company of New Zealand have also been deposited in the Dominion by the Colonial Office, with the approval of the Master of the Rolls.² From the beginning of the nineteenth century the series of official correspondence is fairly well preserved, but this again could be supplemented from the records of the Government Departments in London.

In the case of a penal settlement governed for many years by something approaching martial law the judicial and other civil records must necessarily be of a provisional nature; but those of New South Wales also throw much light on the evolution of the modern State. At the same time relations between the Home and Colonial Governments are of exceptional interest in connexion with the constitutional development of the country.

If the custody and description of the archives in the oldest State of the Commonwealth are inadequate, they are considerably in advance of anything that had been attempted by the other States which made returns for the information of the Royal Commission on Public Records in 1912.³ In all of them, however, good work has been done by historiographers and public librarians towards supplying deficiencies in the earlier records, and, but for the War, the historical societies and the history schools of the universities would by now have co-operated for the establishment of public archives on an up-to-date plan.⁴

¹ The editor of the *Historical Records of New South Wales* evidently under-estimated the extent of the materials remaining in the Colonial Archives. The loss, however, is even greater than that of the Cape Archives in respect of the period 1795-1803.

² See *Public Record Office Rules and Schedules, 1877 to 1913*, p. 296. Where these do not fill gaps in the Colonial Series, they form a welcome addition to the MSS. Department of a great Public Library.

³ 1914 Report, Appx. (II), p. 80.

⁴ The Public Libraries of Australia, especially the Mitchell Library, have played an important part in the preservation of the Public Records. Reference should be

THE SOUTH AFRICAN ARCHIVES

The modern history of the South African archives may be said to date from the Report of a Commission appointed in 1876 to inquire into their state.¹ The archives then in question were those of the Cape Colony, and they included many State Papers and judicial records of the former Dutch Colonial Government, dating back to the middle of the seventeenth century. Since the British occupation the earlier and accruing records had been preserved, at first in the Castle, and afterwards in the Supreme Court Buildings, in the custody of the Colonial Secretary, where they were occasionally searched by historical students.

The Commission of 1876 removed the older records to the Surveyor-General's Office and caused an inventory of them to be made. In 1879 Dr. G. McCall Theal was placed in charge of the Archives, and when he proceeded on a mission to Europe, in the capacity of Colonial Historiographer, the Rev. H. C. V. Leibrandt was appointed as their Keeper, being also Librarian of the House of Assembly.

From 1881 to 1886 the archives were housed in the South African Public Library, whence they were removed to the vaults under the Houses of Parliament. In 1895 and 1896 inquiries were made as to their state by Select Committees of Parliament, which recommended the provision of a central Record Office on the lines of the Public Record Office in London. Meanwhile Dr. Theal was engaged in the laborious task of completing transcripts of the dispatches between the Cape Government and the Colonial Office, which had been in progress for some years. His prodigious industry and unequalled knowledge of the details of the early history of the Colony enabled him to transcribe (largely with his own hand), edit, and publish, within a period of ten years, forty-five volumes of 'Documents' relating to the Cape Colony and South-East Africa dated between 1793 and 1831.²

In 1909, following Mr. Leibrandt's retirement, an administrative Commission was appointed which took further steps for

made to the Proceedings of the Historical Societies of Australia and Victoria, and for the prospects of the Archives to Professor G. C. Henderson's interesting Report on the requirements of those of South Australia (Parl. Paper, No. 46 of 1915).

¹ See below, p. 168, n. 1.

² *Athenaeum*, 5 August 1899.

the preparation of an inventory of the records and for the recovery of missing documents. Finally, in 1912 Mr. C. Graham Botha was appointed as a whole-time Archivist. As in the case of Canada, the appointment of a well-equipped and enthusiastic archivist marks a turning-point in the history of the Archives.

In 1918 another administrative Commission was appointed to consider the question of the further measures required to improve the custody and facilitate the use of the Archives. In 1919 Mr. Botha was appointed chief Archivist of the South African Union and was sent to report on the existing methods of custody in European and American archives. He had already visited England on a similar mission in 1911, where, like Dr. Doughty, he had given evidence before the Royal Commission.

In respect of an establishment of its Public Archives the Government of the South African Union has made an excellent beginning. Further legislation is indeed necessary in order to concentrate all Public Records in one custody, for several important collections of judicial and statutory records are still outstanding, and the sad experience of the United Kingdom shows that until these are brought in, their condition will remain unsatisfactory.

With the exception of India, the antiquity and extent of the Public Records of South Africa probably exceeds those of any related collection outside the British Isles. With the records of the old Cape Colony are included those of other territories annexed between 1865 and 1895. The Provincial Archives of Natal, the Transvaal, and the Orange Free State now form branches of the Public Archives at Cape Town; and it is possible that, in course of time, other collections may be deposited in a central custody.¹

The nature and distribution of the Central and Provincial Records of South Africa have been described in several Reports and Descriptive Lists or Guides. A general description, in the shape of a 'Guide' to the Archives of the South African Union at large, is a *desideratum* that will doubtless be realized in due course. In the meantime there is an admirable 'Guide' to the

¹ A general account of the Cape Archives and of the policy and prospects of the administration is given in Mr. C. Graham Botha's evidence before the Royal Commission on Public Records (vol. i, Part 3, p. 111), and in his Communication to *Transactions Roy. Hist. Soc.* (4th Ser., vol. iii).

earlier Public Records of the Cape Colony, the uses of which have been illustrated by several scholarly works.¹

THE ARCHIVES OF THE CROWN COLONIES

The reform and reconstruction of neglected national archives and their description in the public interest are pleasing characteristics of the public policy of the British Dominions overseas. Unfortunately the administration of the archives of our Crown Colonies has been in striking contrast to this policy and practice. Few details of the present condition or of the former treatment of these archives is available ; but the information collected by the Royal Commission of 1910 respecting the records of the West India Islands is at least suggestive. In one respect the position of these colonies was exceptionally favourable, since, for more than thirty years past, their archives had attracted the attention of colonial antiquaries and historical students in America. Among the former the researches of the late N. Darnell Davis were especially valuable. His gleanings may seem 'scrappy' and 'sensational' ; but they were made during the holiday rambles of a colonial civil servant whose official experience and influence paved the way for more serious students and, incidentally, saved many valuable records from decay or deliberate destruction.² It was probably as a result of these activities that, in 1905, the Colonial Office made a somewhat belated inquiry into the state of the West India Records. Naturally such an inquiry could be of little value unless it were conducted by an independent and expert agency ; but after making due allowance for exculpatory and optimistic representations, the result is sufficiently disquieting.³ We learn that many of the older records are decayed, or have been destroyed by fire, or are now missing. The want of

¹ A list of publications relating to the Cape Archives for the period 1652-1806 is given in Appx. III, V, VI of Mr. Botha's *Brief Guide to the Cape Archives* (1918), a work of real value.

² Mr. Darnell Davis's place has been taken by another keen and scholarly colonial official, Mr. Frank Cundall, Secretary and Librarian of the Jamaica Institute at Kingston. On this side the interest of the authorities of the Royal Colonial Institute in any scheme for the improvement of the minor archives is assured ; while the academic study of Colonial History under the direction of the new Rhodes Professor of Imperial History in the University of London (Dr. A. P. Newton) has also tended to arouse a more general interest in the subject and Professor Egerton is still a tower of strength behind younger workers in this field.

³ 1914 Report, Appx. (II), pp. 115-16.

funds, the climate, and 'insect pests' are mentioned as contributory causes; but it is also noticeable that no adequate archive system exists under the Colonial Office sway. The Royal Commission was informed by Mr. Darnell Davis that, to his personal knowledge, the colonial officials were generally inclined 'to regard the records as rubbish that ought to be burnt'.¹ He repeats the story of Papers of State in Barbados being used 'for sanitary purposes', and vouches for the wanton destruction there of sacks of old records by a high official who allowed himself to be photographed in the act.² The official version of the custody of these records, received about the same date, was that the arrangements in force were 'satisfactory and sufficient'; but some of the older records had suffered from 'the effects of climate'.³ An American professor who inquired, a few years later, what had become of the earlier records, was gravely informed by the Colonial Secretary that there was 'no note to show' what had become of them, but that it was presumed that they were destroyed in 'the disastrous hurricane of 1831'.⁴

'Quis custodiet ipsos custodes?' It is needless to cite more regrettable incidents, or to confront official witnesses with the competent and responsible historians who assisted the Royal Commission. The information presented by the latter is, however, valuable also as a provisional guide to these neglected archives. In particular, Professor C. H. Hull, of Cornell University, contributed many valuable notes and impressions of the condition of the earlier records.⁵

The Local Records of the West Indian and other Colonies are perhaps of greater value for genealogical than for purely historical research, though the economic and social interest of some of them is considerable. Here again, however, most of the earlier local records have perished, through one or other of the disasters associated with the climate and praedial insurrections.

¹ *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*, p. 120. At the same time it should be observed that this rule (as with ourselves) has exceptions, and Mr. Darnell Davis has noted some of them himself.

² Below, p. 195.

³ 1914 Report, *loc. cit.*, p. 115.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 116-19. A much needed *Guide to the West India Records*, by Professor Herbert Bell, is in preparation for the Carnegie Institution series. Scholarly work on the subject, from new sources, is being done by Professor A. P. Newton and his students. The influence of these researches upon the study of imperial sources has been profound.

The condition of the archives in the West India Islands has been briefly examined here because their early history and their close association with the former or existing colonies of Great Britain on the mainland of the great American Continent appeared to afford a reasonable presumption that important collections of Public Records would be found there. It was also assumed that the value of these archives would be recognized at least as fully as elsewhere in the Crown Colonies at large.

It may transpire that very different conditions exist in some one or other of the remaining Colonies under the direct administration of the Crown. This circumstance, however, will not affect the general inference that a large proportion of the Public and Local Records of the Crown Colonies, generally, has perished from causes that were largely avoidable. It is conceivable, indeed, that they were the result of the demoralizing influence of a paternal Government upon the spirit of nationality which is fostered by the description and use of national records.

THE EAST INDIAN ARCHIVES

The true position of the early records of the old East India Company in the Classification of the British Archives has been somewhat obscured by the recent evolution of an Indian Empire. Documents formerly at the disposal of private citizens, as those of other chartered Companies remain to-day, were annexed to the Crown within living memory, and are still administered for the Crown by a Secretary of State in Downing Street. It is, however, merely an academic question whether the imperial archives of India have a closer analogy with the Public Records of Scotland and Ireland or with those of the Dominions; for it is common ground that the contents of the repositories at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay must remain in the possession of the Indian nation, under the control of the Indian Government. The theory, at one time maintained in certain quarters, that there can be no *national* archives or *public* records in the new imperial state, is one that would now be associated with the régime of the Great Mogul.

The Royal Commission of 1910 was justified in making a distinction between the archives of the India Office itself and those permanently established in the Empire overseas. The former

collection comprises, besides the accruing official correspondence of the Secretary of State's department, a large and valuable collection of early records and literary manuscripts taken over from the East India Company and the Board of Control ;¹ but it has been stated that a large proportion of the older records are merely transcripts made for the information, successively, of the Company and the Secretary of State.² The precise origin of the native collections and their relative value cannot be easily traced ; but it is obvious that the archives of the East India Company, the Board of Control, and the India Office, covering between them the whole period of the British connexion with India itself stand in the same relation as those of the Colonial Office to the Dominions overseas.

In India there has now existed for thirty years past an Archive system which compares favourably with any other within the Empire.³ In 1891 an Imperial Record Office was established for the custody and arrangement of the records of the Secretariat and Departments, the latter having been previously much neglected. This Record Office was under the charge of a Keeper of the Records of the Government of India. There were already State Record Offices at Madras and Bombay with separate Record Keepers ;⁴ but even as late as 1912 there was no Record Office at Calcutta for the Bengal Presidency, and the Imperial Record Office for the State Papers of the Empire, since 1858, had not yet been removed from Calcutta to Delhi. The archives of the rulers of the Native States vary in respect of organization, as well as in the value of their contents, which is considerable for the study of the economic and social history of British India.

The office of Director of the Indian Records had existed for

¹ The Company's records date from 1599 ; those of the Board from 1784 to 1858, when the Secretary of State's series begins.

² 1914 Report, vol. ii, Part III, p. 4. Voluminous transcripts connected apparently with the trial of Warren Hastings are deposited among the Treasury Records. It has been suggested that a transference of original records from Indian repositories to Downing Street has been in progress during recent years.

³ For the returns and evidence published by the Royal Commission on the subject of the Indian archives see 1914 Report, vol. ii, pp. 120-3, and vol. iii, pp. 4-9.

⁴ The organization of the Indian archives must be especially associated with the name of Sir George Forrest. The valuable work carried out by the Government of India in Calcutta and London owes much to the scholarship and administrative ability of Sir E. Denison Ross and Mr. William Foster respectively. This organization of the archives has facilitated the researches of many learned societies and individual scholars in both countries.

some years before the reorganization of 1891, and the description or publication of the Indian records have always been conducted as a separate department of the archives. There are important District Record Offices throughout India under the supervision of the local authorities,¹ and there are valuable liturgical or literary manuscripts in native mosques and temples, or in private collections. The accumulation of documents in factories and other local centres entailed arrears of arrangement and description ; but great progress has probably been made in this direction during the last fifty years. The Indian Government has liberally supported the exertions of many learned and industrious workers, and if nothing more than the preparation of press lists had been attempted, the whole contents of the State Archives might have been already noted.² As it is, the progress with the publication of these essential inventories compares unfavourably with the extensive Calendars and Texts produced by the India Office in this country.³

WAR ARCHIVES OF THE BRITISH DOMINIONS

The documentary materials for an appreciation of the economic and social effects of the War upon dominion and colonial history naturally fall within the province of the archives described above, and steps have been taken to meet the exigency. The problem of dealing with war-time documentation is naturally not so overwhelming in the Dominions as it is in the case of the Imperial Government, and can be simplified by regular devices. But a word should be said about the work done in special branches of the Archives of the World War preserved in the British Dominions which equipped and made provision for those Expeditionary Forces that saved the Empire. Here the long experience of the Colonial Governments in grappling with the problem of their earlier Civil Archives was of the utmost value. With characteristic self-reliance the Canadian, Australian, and

¹ 1914 Report, *loc. cit.*, pp. 120 sq. Among other 'Proceedings' the extensive series of Punjab Government 'Records' and 'Press Lists' gives a promise of further enterprise in this direction. It is from these repositories that records are alleged to have been transferred.

² An official Press List of the contents of the Imperial Records Office, dating from 1749, is in progress. The 'Indian Record Series', 'Indian Papers', and other items are noted in the India Office Library Catalogue.

³ Stationery Office Catalogue, *sub. titulo*.

New Zealand Governments set up their own Record Offices in Europe, both for information as to personnel and for collecting materials for National Histories of the War.¹ The same thorough provision was made for the collection and transmission of War Records at the Front under the supervision of special commissions or committees. The War Diaries and other Records, when collected, were checked and to a large extent copied by photostat process for the use of the official historians. Maps and plans were also collected, the execution of war photographs and war pictures was facilitated, and journalism and propaganda received valuable information.

The original Canadian War Records will probably find a place in the Dominion Archives at Ottawa. The Australian War Records, with relics and illustrations, will be housed in a National War Museum at the seat of the Commonwealth Government. The War Records of the South African Forces employed against the German possessions in South-West and South-East Africa, together with those of the Expeditionary Forces in Europe, have been carefully collected by the Union Defence Department and will be transferred to the Archives in due course.²

The records and relics of the War in the other Dominions and in the Crown Colonies are also in the charge of the respective authorities and will surely be preserved with befitting care and reverence in some appropriate shrine.

It is already evident that the publication of the original sources of British Colonial History has done much to strengthen the ties that unite the Mother Country with her heroic offspring. When this historical evidence has been supplemented by permanent memorials of the War Services of the Dominion Forces, a considerable development of the Science of Archives may be looked for throughout the Empire.

¹ The Head-quarters staffs were housed in the Public Record Office during the War.

² Official summaries of the activities of the Canadian and Australian Governments in respect of the collection and preservation of War Records, &c., contributed by Mr. H. P. Biggar and the Minister of Defence for the Commonwealth, respectively, are printed in *Roy. Hist. Soc. Transactions*, 4th Ser., vol. iii.

CHAPTER IX

BRITISH LOCAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS

The Prestige of Central Institutions — The Neglect of Local Records — Classification of Local Records — Distribution of Local Records — The Condition of English Local Records — The Disposal of the Records

‘ EN ANGLETERRE, tout est en désordre ’, wrote Monsieur Paul Meyer in a communication to the Secretary of the Royal Commission on Public Records, dated 4 March 1911. This sweeping assertion was made by the great French scholar, himself the doyen of the administration of the archives, with special reference to our Local Records ; and he supports his dictum with a concrete example of this disorder, contrasted with the orderly system of French provincial archives.¹

It may be worth while to see why the authentic sources, the historical foundations of our local institutions, should be thus neglected. It may be that the result of our investigation will suggest that the strength of a nation is nurtured in its towns and villages, and that national virtues can never be cultivated by prescription.

THE PRESTIGE OF CENTRAL INSTITUTIONS

It is truly remarkable that since the Battle of Bosworth our politics and literature have been somewhat unduly influenced by national ideals, to the exclusion of local interests and sentiments.² For the greater part of three centuries past our politics and culture have been gradually losing the healthy aspect conferred by local atmosphere. We pose as citizens of the Empire, instructed in our public duties by a parliament at Westminster and a junto in Downing Street ; by a fraternity of journalists in Fleet Street, a group of cosmopolitan financiers in the City, and a crowd of fashionable people in Mayfair.

¹ 1919 Report, Appx. (II), p. 40.

² This has been reaffirmed in a scholarly article on ‘ Local History ’ in *The Times Literary Supplement* of 11 March 1920.

For all its twenty-nine boroughs and hundred parishes, London has always lain outside the municipal and parochial life of England, which is with us still. The country mouse comes to nibble timidly at urban delicacies; there are people who profess to enjoy a 'London Season'; and 'London Letters' are written to the provincial press. Country members display their London clubs on visiting cards; provincial theatres are crowded for a London company; and visitors to health resorts anxiously await the London newspapers.

It is the same with matters of more serious moment. London mercantile houses have their country branches; and all trains run up to or down from London *par excellence*. The legal and medical professions throughout the Empire are governed by the ordinances of post-medieval London guilds; and Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries of London look askance at Fellows of the Societies of Antiquaries of Scotland or Ireland, and ignore members of the ancient Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. It is scarcely surprising, then, that a great gulf is fixed between the Public and Local Records of this country; for the process of centralization has been going on in this direction also to meet the requirements of Law Courts and Governments.

In certain quarters, however, there appears to be a growing conviction that the traditional policy of centralization must be brought to an end, and that free scope should be given to local authorities and institutions for the reconstruction and permanent preservation of the regional archives. This would mean that local collections must no longer be despoiled by a piecemeal transfer of the more important documents to the metropolitan archives or museums. Some antiquarians are even of opinion that documents already removed to central institutions should be restored to their respective collections. A policy of decentralization is clearly in keeping with the spirit of the times, and it was viewed with favour by the Royal Commission of 1910. The first application of such a principle would naturally be made in the case of Scottish, Irish, Welsh, and Dominion or Colonial archives overseas; but it would also affect Palatinates and Liberties, Royal Duchies, Counties, Dioceses, Parishes, Boroughs, and Urban or Rural Districts.

At the same time there are signs that the prestige hitherto enjoyed by metropolitan institutions is on the wane. Indeed, during the last generation we have seen the beginning of a revolt against the political and intellectual hegemony of the Metropolis. The Local Government Acts of 1888 and 1894, at first regarded as the fruits of official pedantry, made 'Old England' something more than a meaningless expression, and this rehabilitation was assisted by the Municipal Corporation Acts of 1882-3. Again, the successful experiment of Colonial Federation produced a deep impression and has encouraged further schemes of devolution; and so, slowly but surely, the new local authorities have been able to emancipate themselves from the patriarchal control of the Whitehall departments.

The result is clearly seen in the reorganization of the archives as an outcome of local patriotism. To be sure, we have always been at heart a parochially-minded nation, for we have the traditions of nearly a thousand years in our bones, since our forefathers were registered in Domesday Book. During the food shortage of the later War time we all went farming; and with the Armistice every man went about to sit beneath his own vine and fig-tree. We have a healthy appetite for country excursions on the occasion of 'bean-feasts' of immemorial antiquity, and a genuine interest in country sports and pastimes. Finally, local patriotism may mean something more to us than the glorious traditions of our territorial regiments or the victory of a shire or village in regional contests; for whenever we can escape from the chimes of 'Bow Bells' or the clang of 'Big Ben', most of us use to resort to some mansion, farm, or cottage which we still call 'home'.

THE NEGLECT OF LOCAL RECORDS

All such instinctive yearnings, however, are merely based to-day on the unwritten traditions of the countryside. There are comparatively few of us who trouble to dig deeper, and so discover the foundations of these ideals in the daily records of the national life in village communities and chartered or prescriptive boroughs. For the origins of our constitution and society are set forth in vast but neglected collections of Local

Records preserved in the muniment rooms of manor houses, towns, and churches ; in parish chests and in the safes or lumber rooms of local authorities and Trusts, or on the shelves of public Libraries and Museums.

Hitherto these Local Records have been little used for the reconstruction of our national history ; or rather the conventional versions of that History have been chiefly concerned with domestic politics and foreign warfare. Ecclesiastical and legal institutions have until quite recently occupied a larger space in our historical literature than social, commercial, and industrial development ; but these and other aspects of our history are capable of much elucidation from Local Records ; for so-called ' Local History ' is only national history compiled in regional sections. The fact is that English History has been largely written by academicians and men of letters, trained in an atmosphere of courts and councils, and apt to take a national or imperial view of historical events which are largely due to the co-operation of local forces.

The neglect of local sources by our historians is therefore not surprising, and it is also chiefly responsible for the maltreatment of records which have been regarded with scanty veneration. Unfortunately, too, these records have not only remained uncared for, but also unclassified and undescribed. There is no history or ' Guide ' to the contents of the local archives, which have been occasionally published as an act of piety by local antiquaries. Indeed, we do not even possess an accepted definition of these Local Records, which were regarded by the Departmental Committee of 1899 as ' documents of historical importance and interest, which relate to a particular place or district, and have not been collected in any central repository '.

It will be observed that this definition excludes many documents of national interest which have found their way into certain local collections. At the same time the Committee made a useful distinction between local records of a public and private nature respectively, with a further grade of semi-public records. The Royal Commission of 1910, which dealt with Local Records in its Third Report,¹ was charged to inquire as to ' Local Records

¹ Issued in 1919.

of a public nature', and omits, accordingly, any recommendation as to those which are not the property of the Crown, or which do not immediately concern the interests of the community.

The Conference on Local War Records in September 1920, referred to elsewhere, did not arrive at any conclusion on this subject, which indeed it had no opportunity of studying. It is worth noting, however, that there was a general disposition to regard Local Records, generally, as derelict, and to make arrangements for their arrangement and disposal by historical bodies.¹ Eventually, indeed, all documents belonging to the Crown were excepted from this scheme, but the point is of interest; for the Local Records Committee of 1899, under the influence of the Public Record Office, had already paved the way for a general supervision of Local Records by the Master of the Rolls, a devolution in keeping with the Public Record Office Act of 1838 and the Order in Council of 1852. Some action has actually been taken in this direction, by advising local authorities as to the disposal of their records, on the lines of the statutory procedure under the Public Record Office Act of 1877.²

Reference has been made to this subject above;³ but in the first place it is advisable to attempt a further definition of Local Records with some particulars of their distribution. Materials for this purpose are now available in the *Repertory of British Archives*, compiled by the present writer and some post-graduate students and published by the Royal Historical Society, a work which includes the results of researches contemplated by the Royal Commission of 1910.⁴

CLASSIFICATION OF LOCAL RECORDS

It is generally agreed that the class of Public Local Records contains the two main elements of civil and ecclesiastical documents.⁵ The former include County, Municipal, and Parochial Records, together with the records of special local authorities or jurisdictions, such as Urban Districts, Poor Law Unions, and Local Courts, Commissions and Statutory Authorities. The latter

¹ Above, pp. 42 sq., 109 sq.

² *Public Record Office, Rules and Schedules, 1877-1913*, and *Parl. Papers, 1913-23*.

³ p. 43 sq.

⁴ See 1919 Report (*passim*).

⁵ For Local War Records see above, Chap. V, and below, Appx. E.

are naturally sub-divided as episcopal, cathedral or collegiate, archidiaconal, and parochial records. Each of these divisions contains judicial, administrative, and miscellaneous documents. To the above classes of Public Local Records, or Local Records of a public nature, mentioned in the Report of the departmental Committee of 1899, must be added a large number of outlying Public Records in the custody of the local officers of various courts, registries, and public departments. These records do not appear in the Committee's report, and the omission is a serious one; for though the documents are in official custody, they are likely to remain inaccessible to students unless their public nature is insisted on.

There is a considerable residue of public records which may be regarded as such by reason of their nature and not of their custody.¹ It is well known that many Judicial Records, State Papers, and Departmental Records have come into the possession of corporations or private individuals, whose title to them is presumably valid. In similar custody will also be found many historical or literary documents of a public nature and even of national interest.

DISTRIBUTION OF LOCAL RECORDS

To some extent the scope and nature of these local sources can be ascertained from their distribution in provincial or regional areas which are clearly indicated in respect both of the custody and study of the documents. Some are associated with ancient Palatinates and Royal Duchies; others with ancient dioceses, still more with counties or liberties, while the Metropolitan area forms an exceptional division in which the archives may be regarded as central or local according to their nature.²

We are reminded that London was formerly an agglomeration of local franchises when we study the constitution and establishment of the Tower of London at the end of the reign of Charles II. The freemen of the Tower Liberty were, by reason of their position, largely exempt from the jurisdiction both of the Crown and of the

¹ They are usually found in the family collections of the descendants of various public officials, such as cabinet ministers, civil servants, ambassadors, royal commissioners, and judicial officers.

² This distinction is explained in *Repertory*, pp. xvii, 93 sq., 161 sq.

City. In return for mustering in defence of the fortress, they ceased to be liable for service on juries or for payment of tithes. All encroachments on the Liberty were presented by its Leet Jury, and offenders—even the Corporation of London itself—were heavily amerced. Finally, public order and the general well-being were maintained by a constable, a headborough, a scavenger, two ale-conners, and two overseers of the poor; the Constable of the Tower himself being also sworn as a Justice of the Peace to do equal justice to rich and poor in the Sessions held there. The records of this local government were also preserved apart from the State Archives, together with the standard weights and measures.¹

Within the above areas we should find the local records more or less evenly distributed, in the several urban and rural districts; in cities, towns, and villages; in cathedral and parish churches and nonconformist meeting houses; in public libraries or museums; besides many in the custody of statutory authorities or Trusts and even in Government offices; while in the ‘stately homes of England’, or scattered at random in town and country alike, will be found another source of information in the private collections formed by statesmen or men of business. Thus we can assume that in every one of these areas certain types of documents can be found in the custody of constituted authorities or lawful owners. Familiar examples occur in the case of the archives in the custody of the Clerks of the County Councils, Town Clerks, Clerks of the Peace, Clerks of Assize, District Registries of Probate and of Births, &c., Naval and Military Commands, Custom House Officers, Registrars or Ordinaries of Bishops, Chapters and Archdeacons, Parish Clerks, and the Clerks of various Commissions, current or expired, or their legal representatives.

Some of the last-mentioned collections will only occur in marshland districts (Commissioners of Sewers); others only in woodland districts (Foresters). Others, again, must be excluded from our list, for practical purposes, owing to the non-existence of records for an earlier period;² but we can make out a fairly

¹ W.O. Ordn. Misc. 1073; S. and B. Webb, *Manor and Borough*, p. 98.

² e. g. the Records of County and Coroners’ Courts and the Sheriff’s Office, which now only exist for some fifty years past. Cf. 1914 Report, Appx. (II), s.v.

complete list of the pre-War local records for any county by checking the establishments given in various Directories with the official Returns of Record Commissions or Committees, and other sources of information.

The *Repertory* above referred to, like the Report of the Royal Commission, is largely based on a careful study of the returns made by earlier Commissions or Committees of inquiry, the value of which had been previously overlooked. In fact, the returns of the Records Committee in 1800, of the Records Commission in 1837, of the Municipal Corporations Commissions of 1835 and 1876, are more valuable for the study of archives than the fuller Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission from 1870 onwards. The reason is that the Returns in question included the whole country, and indicate roughly the contents of certain archives at given dates; while the Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission are neither systematic nor detailed.

The defects which occur in those Reports, which are pointed out by the compilers of the *Repertory*,¹ should be noted by intending students. In the *Repertory* itself we find seven great classes of Local Records enumerated, giving us, in addition to the four well-known classes of county, municipal, ecclesiastical, and parochial records, three others, for Public Records in local custody, for documents in the custody of statutory authorities, and for the contents of public institutions and private collections respectively. Hitherto the last three classes had not been defined or described, and no serious attempt had been made to enumerate the various divisions of the other classes. Still less had any diplomatic description been given of the types of documents occurring in each case, or of the significance of their distribution.

Stress has been laid on these points merely to illustrate the proposition that, although the nature and contents of the Central Archives have been copiously expounded during the last century, the Local Records have been practically ignored;² and although they have been occasionally reproduced or

¹ p. 120.

² The Local Records included in the 1800 and 1837 Returns were only dealt with incidentally as potential Public Records, the chief object of these Returns having been to ascertain the state of the Public Records of a judicial nature.

described, they have been insufficiently studied, as a class, for such a purpose.

In the post-medieval period the distribution of Local Records was affected by the dispersion of the Monastic libraries and the spread of humanistic culture. Later there was disturbance during the Civil War, while the displacement of the feudal gentry by the *nouveaux riches* had been in progress since the fourteenth century.¹

The Local Records, as we are now able to identify them, present us with a mass of evidence remarkable for its significance in connexion with many aspects of the national history. Hitherto academic historians have regarded these records as chiefly useful for furnishing concrete illustrations of the manners and customs of the parish and the city, or of the administration of the county, the manor and the borough—apart from archaeological data and materials for family pedigrees. Now we shall begin to supplement these subjects from new sources² dealing with ecclesiastical, naval, and military history, public administration and revenue, local justice and administration, national and local trade and industries, social welfare and culture, and political science.

Some of these new sources may seem to be of relatively slight importance; but at least a considerable proportion of them is of real value by reason of their bearing on the national life.³ Moreover, some of the conventional sources for the history of the county, the borough, the parish, and the churches can now be supplemented by important records, hitherto unaccounted for or imperfectly described.⁴

¹ Cf. Miss A. Law in *Transactions Roy. Hist. Soc.*, N.S., vol. ix.

² e. g. from the Records of the Chancery, Exchequer, and the Plea Rolls of the King's Courts; records of Local Courts, Courts Christian, County, Borough, and Parish Records; and records of Statutory Authorities and Trusts.

³ e. g. Records in naval and military arsenals or depots; in Custom Houses; relating to Crown Forests; in the custody of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners; Commissioners of Sewers, Barmasters of Courts of Great Barmote; Commissioners for certain Rivers, Harbours, Piers, Bridges, Inclosures; Poor Law Incorporations; Public Utility Services; Watch Committees, Pension and Distress Committees; Charitable Trusts and Town Trusts; Town Courts and Inferior Courts of Record; Coroners' Inquests; records of trading companies (to supplement those already explored); records of legal and other professional corporations, and of learned Academies and Religious or Charitable Societies.

⁴ e. g. the miscellaneous records of the Quarter Sessions; the County Council records; the judicial records of the boroughs; the secular records of the parish and

THE CONDITION OF ENGLISH LOCAL RECORDS

A disquieting feature of the situation is the systematic neglect of judicial records. Although the County Records are generally associated with those in the custody of the Clerk of the Peace and County Council in the Shire Halls of County Towns, we have seen that many others ought to be recognized, and some of these collections will be referred to below. A description of the contents of the Quarter Sessions Records, dating from 1550, and County Council Archives, dating from 1888, would involve a repetition of details given in the *Repertory*.¹ The latter work may be supplemented by the authorities mentioned there in footnotes, also by reference to the Third Report of the Royal Commission on Public Records.² The same remark must necessarily be made in respect of the archives in the custody of Town Clerks in the Guildhalls of municipal boroughs;³ of parish records in the custody of the incumbent or of the Parish Council;⁴ of Episcopal Records in the custody of the Diocesan Registrar;⁵ of Chapter Records in that of the Chapter Clerk or Cathedral Librarian;⁶ of the Archidiaconal Records in that of the Archdeacon or his officer;⁷ the records of the Nonconformist congregations being mostly in the custody of a central body.⁸ Finally, there is little more to be said about the multifarious contents of local public institutions, such as the Libraries and Museums controlled by local authorities or Trusts, than will be found in the *Repertory*,⁹ and further reference to this class of document will be made below.¹⁰ The devolution of local government during the last century has effected great changes in the status of the County Records. The main collection for the Quarter Sessions has remained intact and, since

the non-testamentary records of the diocesan courts which have remained neglected and unaccounted for since the Probate and Divorce Court Acts of 1857. In the case of the Inferior Courts of Record, it may be noted that as many as forty-seven types could be recognized in 1900, though fifteen of these were then extinct (1902 Report, Appx., p. 279).

¹ pp. 108-16.

² Appx. (II), pp. 2-22 (1919).

³ *Repertory*, pp. 116-24; 1919 Report, Appx. (II), pp. 22-9.

⁴ i. e. referring to ecclesiastical or lay business respectively; see *Repertory*, pp. 126-34; 1919 Report, Appx. (II), pp. 78-85.

⁵ *Repertory*, pp. 134-44; 1919 Report, *loc. cit.*, pp. 29-32.

⁶ *Ibid.*, and 1919 Report, *ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 136 sq., and 1919 Report, *ibid.*

⁸ *Repertory*, p. 140 sq., and 1902 Report, p. 130.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 145-58, and 1919 Report, *loc. cit.*, p. 86.

¹⁰ pp. 205 sq., 333 sq.

the Local Government Act of 1888, has been in the custody of the Clerk of the County Council in his other capacity as Clerk of the Peace.¹ The records of the Petty Sessions are fitfully preserved by the individual enterprise of Magistrates' Clerks, who are usually practising solicitors.² The Parish Records have also remained in the same official repositories; but with the division between lay and ecclesiastical custody more sharply defined by modern legislation.³ Again the ancient Commissions have mostly held their own,⁴ and the cathedral churches have retained the custody of all their official records except those of a testamentary nature, which they had surrendered under the Act of 1857.⁵ In other directions, however, great changes have taken place. The administration of the county has been overrun by departmental and statutory authorities. The Home Office and the Prison and Lunacy Commissioners took over the supervision of judicial procedure; the Local Government Board controlled the administration of Poor Law Unions⁶ and the finance of local authorities. Later still the Boards of Trade and Agriculture appeared upon the scene, and the economic aspects of the 'Seaside' and 'Countryside' fell within their respective jurisdictions. At the same time, the Charity and Ecclesiastical Commissioners began to play the part of Public Trustees in respect of the impoverished ecclesiastical estates.

The military and naval authorities occupy strategical positions on wold and strand, and their depots are notable repositories of Local Records. The tax-gatherer is, of course, ubiquitous; but the Stewards of the 'Woods' and 'Duchies' who once kept their records in divers ancient castles have now been lost sight of. The Post Office and the Customs are properly classed as Revenue

¹ *Repertory*, pp. 108 sq.

² *Ibid.*, p. 111.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 126 sq.

⁴ e. g. Commissioners of Sewers, Land Tax, Turnpike Roads, Bridges, Rivers, Harbours, Docks, Piers, &c.

⁵ 1914 Report, Appx. (II), pp. 101 sq. For the records of ecclesiastical estates see 1919 Report, Appx. (II), *passim*, and *Repertory*, p. 126 sq.

⁶ The Board disclaimed this responsibility in evidence before the Public Record Commission in 1914, but it issued an official letter to the Unions in 1917, urging the destruction of useless records. This, however, was not interpreted very judiciously in all cases. A description of 'Rare Records rescued from Waste' was published a few years later in the newspapers in connexion with the activities of the Maidenhead Guardians in disposing of 'papers illustrating every form of Poor Law activity from the Commonwealth to the present date'.

Departments ; but they might also be regarded as Utility Services in view of their many activities in connexion with public administration. These duties are shared by some newcomers, such as the Ministries of Labour and Health, the latter having also replaced the Local Government Board.

The new Statutory Authorities include some that have been set up as departmental agencies. Such are the Old Age Pensions, Distress, and Health Insurance Committees, with some industrial or preventive Registries or Trusts.¹ The General Register Office, which takes civil musters of the population, has a departmental status and controls local branches.²

Of the above departments or authorities which are concerned with Local Records not all possess local repositories ; for example, the Home Office and the Ministry of Health are represented by local Inspectors of Factories, Mines, and of Poor Law and Sanitary Authorities, who report direct to head-quarters.³ Again, such archives as exist locally are not always of historical interest, a statement which might apply to the archives of local Postmasters, Inland Revenue Surveyors, Labour Exchanges, Excisemen and Receivers in Bankruptcy.

The Statutory Authorities above referred to are in some cases accommodated at the charges of local authorities,⁴ or of a related Department,⁵ but in many cases their records are preserved, at least temporarily, in the custody of their officers or agents, after the medieval fashion.⁶

The extent and variety of these records of Statutory Authorities can be easily noted by reference to the pre-War Reports of the District Auditors submitted to Parliament in the meagre form of

¹ e. g. Town Trusts, Charitable Trusts, &c., Newspaper Companies, Money-lenders.

² District Registrars of Births, &c. The Probate Registry controls judicial sub-departments. The Registrar of Friendly Societies is a central authority.

³ Cf. *Repertory*, pp. 94 sq., and 1914 Report, Appx. (II), p. 114.

⁴ 1919 Report, Appx. (II), p. 34.

⁵ Commissioners of Income Tax usually conduct their official business through the branch offices of Inland Revenue.

⁶ e. g. District Registrars of Births, &c., who are, however, under the supervision of the Registrar-General's Inspectors and are provided with iron boxes for the Registers in use. The records of Commissioners of Sewers are usually preserved in a local office which is presumably that of the clerk, a practising solicitor. The valuable records of other authorities, such as Turnpike Trusts, were kept in the like custody. In most cases, however, the local authority is the sole custodian of his own records, which are not therefore likely to survive his tenure of office. This has been shown to be the fate of the Coroners' Records (1914 Report, Appx. (II), p. 143 sq.).

'Annual Local Taxation Returns'. This formal Audit was prescribed by the Public Health Act of 1875 and Local Government Act of 1894 (Municipal Accounts being dealt with under another Act),¹ and the publicity thus given to these local revenue accounts may ensure their preservation for a term of years. At the same time, neither the Local Government Board nor the County Councils seem to have exercised sufficiently the powers with which they were entrusted by the Act of 1894 for the safe custody of Parish Records.² The inquiries of the Local Records Committee of 1899 and of the Public Records Commission of 1910 showed that very little had been done in the way of surveying the contents of parish chests or of scheduling the salvaged records of extinct municipal corporations as Town Trusts.³

THE DISPOSAL OF THE RECORDS

It is evident, therefore, that the Local Records are an authentic source of information for the life history of our countrymen during many centuries of political and social change. It is equally evident that many losses have been sustained during this period owing, partly, to the unsatisfactory state of the records which are not under any expert supervision, and still more to defective accommodation. Again, while royal palaces and castles have fallen into decay; while the old houses of religion have been plundered and defaced, and their documentary treasures dispersed, the County Borough and Parish records have been preserved more or less systematically, though none of the series will be found to be complete. This, indeed, is a circumstance that depended largely on the personality of their custodians, a chance which must be taken until a recognized method of archive economy is introduced and maintained under the supervision of the State, reinforced by legislation prohibiting the disposal of any document of a public nature without official authority.

The question arises whether the destruction of these local records has depleted the sources for an authentic record of the economic and social progress of the nation. Certainly we are told that historical facts must be established by documentary evidence;

¹ Municipal Corporations Act of 1882, s. 26.

² Local Government Act of 1894, s. 17 (9).

³ 1902 Report, Appx. XIII; 1919 Report, Appx. (II), p. 86.

but does this involve the preservation of the records of 640 Boards of Poor Law Guardians, many of which went back to 1834, and a few even to 1694; or the Journals of all the Light-Houses and Light-Ships and Harbours controlled by the Trinity Board and the Board of Trade respectively; or of all the Drainage Boards set up under the Act of 1861? ¹ Unquestionably we shall lose many impressive facts and graphic illustrations from their annihilation; but we have been also told that the historian will be crushed under the weight of his materials unless he has the courage to dispense with minor local archives. Obviously such documents could be used with advantage as illustrations of local conditions, in support of general conclusions; but the statistics that they afford have been already noted in official returns. A process of selection may in some respects provide a solution that would safeguard the requirements of students in search of local documents. In the first place, however, the whole collection should be examined for the purpose of recording the administrative functions of the office itself, which might otherwise remain obscure or even unintelligible—as has often happened in the past to our national shame and loss.

¹ The records compiled by the Coastguard and by Receivers of Wreck, Light-house Keepers, Harbour Masters, and other authorities, have behind them traditions as ancient as the Beacons and Watches of the Angevin period. The economic value of the records of Conservancy and Drainage Boards and Commissions of Sewers is considerable.

SECTION II. INTROSPECTIVE STUDIES : THE DECAY AND REFORM OF THE ARCHIVES

CHAPTER X

LOSSES OF PUBLIC AND LOCAL RECORDS

The Pillage of State Archives in War Time — Losses of Local Records — Exceptional Causes of Loss — Preventive and Remedial Measures — Defective Custody of Archives — The Official Destruction of Historical Documents — The Abstraction of Historical Documents — Improved Methods of Preserving Local Records — The Influence of Public Opinion.

HISTORIANS are aware that a description of the archives is largely concerned with their vicissitudes. In this respect we have to deplore a common loss with patriots and scholars all the world over, and in every period of World History : for no more perishable treasure than rolls and books of parchment or paper has ever been laid up in the treasure-houses of kings. Insect pests more deadly than the moth and a worse corruption than rust have played havoc with records deprived of the purifying action of the elements or exposed to their destructive fury. The theft of records is still a comparatively remote danger ; but for centuries past documents in current use have been casually removed or recklessly destroyed by their custodians, thereby aggravating the injury inflicted by marauding vandals or vikings and their modern imitators.

THE PILLAGE OF STATE ARCHIVES IN WAR TIME

At the same time, even the darkest annals of the archives point to an unequal distribution of these losses. The disruption of ancient empires would have left us few contemporary materials for their history if the archaeologist had not come to the historian's rescue ; but the fall of later dynasties has not usually affected the survival of their archives. Again, a continental nation has paid the penalty for strategic frontiers, while an insular people has remained secure from foreign invasion or domestic tumult. In this matter the vantage ground of Britain has been held through the ages. It is true that the archives of Northumbria were wiped out

when the country was laid waste in turn by Danes, Normans, and Scottish borderers. The risings of the villeins in the south and east of England were accompanied by a deliberate destruction of manorial records. The dissolution of preceptories and religious houses was followed by the dispersal of their muniments; but a fanatical destruction of records during the Civil Wars did not commend itself to shrewd men of business. Then there have been notable fires, besides that of 1666, in London;¹ and many a county town and cathedral or parish church has experienced some catastrophe of this sort.

All these losses, however, have been trivial compared with the devastation wrought in France alone by the *Jacquerie* and Free Companies during the Hundred Years' War, and by Catholics or Huguenots during the Wars of Religion; by *Sans Culottes* or other incendiaries of the Revolutionary period, and by the German invasions of 1870 and 1914. In the last of these violations of the Continental archives a definite motive is discernible which can be traced in earlier times. To medieval statesmen, the title-deeds of fertile provinces were a political security of obvious value. In their simplicity they regarded a 'scrap' of parchment (fortified by notarial art and sanctified by religious invocations) as an inviolable pledge for the observance of a state of peace or the enjoyment of commercial facilities. Thus proofs of the enforced acknowledgement of Scotland's vassalage to England were removed by Edward I, while Cromwell deported a still larger portion of the Scottish archives. As a matter of course Norman and Aquitanian duchies lost a large portion of their archives when they abjured their English allegiance; but those of the Anglo-Norman lordships of Ireland and of the Channel Islands have suffered only from official negligence and have been retained, subject to some departmental transfers.² On the other hand, the Welsh Records were transferred to London in 1854; but their repatriation is vehemently desired by the Welsh nationalists and has been recommended by an Anglo-Welsh Commission.

¹ Such as those which destroyed the Whitehall Palace records in 1698; many Cottonian MSS. in 1731; the old Custom House Papers in 1814; and the archives of the House of Commons in 1833.

² See above, p. 149 sq. This was written before the wanton destruction of national records in Ireland by Irishmen.

The repression of nationalistic ideals may have been a feature of an earlier English hegemony ; but on the continent of Europe it acquired a deeper significance and involved more vital interests. The extensive selections from subject archives appropriated by Napoleon I for the aggrandizement of his imperial state were restored by the terms of the European settlement after 1814, and this was regarded as a lasting precedent ; but none the less some of us have seen the same act of spoliation repeated in 1866, while it formed a subject of inquiry in connexion with the Peace Treaty of 1919.¹

That our own archives will continue to enjoy exceptional immunity in time of war, can scarcely be expected. Our insular security is gravely menaced by the enterprising methods of modern warfare as well as by the exigencies of warlike preparations, which have already levied a heavy toll upon unwanted archives.² Henceforth, too, all nations must take into account civil as well as military disturbance of their archives, and precautions should not be left until the last moment, for even the average citizen will insure his library books twelve months ahead.

Whether the archives of any one nation are more exposed to dangers of this sort than those of another is therefore problematical. Of more direct importance is the question whether those archives are adequately protected by their custodians from the daily perils by which they are environed. Although some general causes and particular instances of the loss of public and private documents have been mentioned, both in official reports and antiquarian dissertations, no serious attempt has yet been made to classify or analyse this evidence, or to bring it up to date.³ We have seen that losses of Public Records have been largely due to certain definite causes, such as foreign invasion and civil war or tumults, political or administrative exigencies, misappropriation, fire, flood, damp, dust, vermin, and other consequences of neglectful custody

¹ It is an interesting fact that in 1911 the Royal Commission on Public Records submitted to the War Office an academic question as to the immunity of archives in war time. The reply was to the effect that the inviolability of archives had been settled for all time by the restitution of the archives removed by Napoleon I.

² Especially in connexion with naval and military preparations during the Crimean and South African Wars.

³ References to the literature of this subject will be found in *Studies*, Part I, and Appendices, *passim* ; Gross, *Sources and Literature*, p. 77 sq. ; the *Westminster Review*, Nos. LXXXV and C.

or official supineness, especially in respect of collecting or transmitting outstanding records.¹

LOSSES OF LOCAL RECORDS

It is well known that Local Records have suffered still heavier losses, chiefly, no doubt, through the execution of a feudal process which illustrates the maxim of the survivorship of the Crown. We know also, however, that in many cases documents which have passed into the hands of the Crown through escheat, forfeiture, or judicial requisitions have in many cases survived in official custody.²

A similar statement cannot unfortunately be made with regard to the muniments now in the possession of manorial families or their assigns. The Royal Commission on Public Records found that the spacious muniment room of an ancient family did not contain any early records of a hundred manors held in direct descent since the sixteenth century.³ In some such cases there is hope that the records may be recovered; but in other cases they have doubtless perished by deliberate destruction.

Acts of vandalism such as the utter neglect or deliberate destruction of historical family papers or early title-deeds should be regarded as contrary to good manners and public policy. An Englishman may do what he likes in his 'castle'; but if the castle is an ancient one, to play tricks with it might justify a general protest; for even to blaspheme or to gamble, to shoot game on Sundays or to spit or bathe unguardedly may be forbidden under a statutory penalty. Yet none of these offences could prejudice our nation so much in the opinion of intelligent foreigners as the spectacle of a peeress of ancient lineage snipping seals and signatures from muniments and State Papers as souvenirs for her

¹ Above, pp. 151 sq., and below, pp. 210, 245 sq., 269 sq. Reference has been previously made (p. 27 sq.) to the wholesale loss of records through the frequent migrations of Government departments from one building to another or on the abolition of a permanent department or of some Temporary Commission. Instances in point may be found in the case of the pre-Victorian Inland Revenue Departments and of most of the Temporary Commissions appointed since 1838 (cf. 1914 Report, p. 35, and Appx. (II), pp. 267-8).

² e. g. Ministers' Accounts and Court Rolls, with correspondence and miscellaneous documents such as may be found among the Cely and Stonor Papers now published.

³ 1919 Report, Appx. (II), p. 87 n. In this case the family papers, and probably the manorial muniments with them, did not follow the title but remained in the hands of collaterals, thanks to the ministrations of an antiquarian kinsman.

friends.¹ Even the Bolsheviks, we are credibly informed, have to some extent preserved the archives of the Crown and the old landed nobility as a national asset, to be used in common.

But what has become of the manorial documents which in still larger numbers remained in the custody of various manorial officers and others? There has been a wholesale destruction of records in the custody of solicitors, trustees, bankers, land agents, registrars, or clerks, and many types of documents are affected.² In many cases a mercenary motive has been responsible for the disposal of old parchment or paper, which has realized a fancy price from second-hand booksellers and other experts or at least a substantial price in connexion with the manufacture of glue and toys, or the trade requirements of tailors, gold-beaters, and stationers. Many documents, again, have been lost by neglectful custody, especially in permitting documents to be removed for perusal or to be scrapped and sold as waste by office-keepers or charwomen.³ Numerous instances of losses which have been ascertained, or which can be vehemently suspected, will be found in the Reports of the Record Commission of 1910 and its precursors. These cases cover almost every conceivable form of loss, and they refer to almost every category of public and private documents. Evidences of the destruction or dispersal of documents may also be found in the Reports of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records and in an extensive series of Sale Catalogues.

¹ An actual case in point was communicated to the writer by a student whose researches had been much impeded by the disappearance of manorial documents.

Since this was written, the question of the preservation of 'Family Papers' has been raised by the Director of the British Museum in a letter to *The Times* (20 August 1921), suggesting that, in view of the breaking up of large estates which has unfortunately taken place in recent years throughout Great Britain owing to the pressure of taxation and other expenses, the valuable muniments and correspondence which are thus endangered should be deposited in the British Museum, which will undertake to examine family collections for this purpose. In this connexion, too, the policy of the Historical Manuscripts Commission and of the Public Record Office itself during the last fifty years should be noted. It will be seen, from many references in the present work, that abundant materials for the consideration of this problem have been provided by the labours of the recent Royal Commission on Public Records and by the subsequent activities of historical scholars and local antiquaries; while the nature and distribution of the documents themselves have been described in a *Repertory of British Archives* published by the Royal Historical Society (1920).

² By far the most numerous of these are naturally title-deeds in the form of Charters and other conveyances.

³ Negligence may be responsible for such typical cases as those of the Dunwich or of the Laing MSS. reported by the Historical Manuscripts Commission; but some custodians have allowed valuable documents to be disposed of in order to keep up a reputation for economy or administrative energy.

EXCEPTIONAL CAUSES OF LOSS

Again the contents both of State archives and private collections may be imperilled by exceptional circumstances connected with the materials of the writings, or with their custody and use ; these being for the most part of comparatively recent occurrence. Thus records may be destroyed on the ground that their contents have been printed ; and yet the print itself, owing to the quality of the paper, may be liable to crumble within one generation. In other cases the use of chemical ink in a steel pen has established a tendency to corrosion in the parchment or paper of the written record itself. Other causes of injury are found in the over-heated and smoke-laden atmosphere of modern civilization ; but most of all through constant use by readers, disregard of the need of repair by custodians, rough handling by their subordinates, and tight packing on the shelves.¹

Another obscure and insidious cause of loss is associated with judicial procedure or legislative enactments. An immense quantity of local muniments has been deposited among the archives of the central Courts of Justice, or their Registries, as exhibits in various causes.² The greater part of these documents remained unclaimed, and has been disposed of because the documents were not incorporated with the Public Records.³

Probably local judicial records have suffered the worst losses through the accident of their custody by a clerk who had not access to a permanent muniment room.⁴ A further cause of extensive loss may be noted in respect of legislation which has failed to make provision for the custody of Local Records. For example, it has been suggested that many Local Records were dispersed as a result of the Local Government Act of 1888.

It is needless to give further instances of the losses that the national archives have incurred or to indicate the danger of their repetition. There is doubtless need of further legislation on the subject, but this alone would not avert the perils that must

¹ The last of these defaults immediately affects the covers of manuscript books ; a protection on which the use of the contents may depend.

² 1912 Report, pp. 8, 9, 13 ; 1914 Report, p. 58.

³ *Public Record Office, Rules and Schedules, 1877-1913*, pp. 190-1.

⁴ In cases where the offices of Town Clerk and Clerk of the Peace were not held by the same person judicial records have not usually been deposited in the Guildhall.

accompany the employment of untrained and irresponsible custodians, nor would it dispel the public apathy which suffers offences against public policy and learning to be committed with impunity.

PREVENTIVE AND REMEDIAL MEASURES

In some cases, indeed, the enforcement of such legislation may prove to be a difficult matter. During the World War when, by stress of a blockade, England reverted to an earlier agrarian system, a communal administration was also revived, and Local History (as recorded in old Churchwardens' Accounts and Vestry Minutes) began to repeat itself. During this crisis an eminent scientist¹ referred, in a suggestive war-book, to the conventional delineation of a royal rat-catcher whose livery bore a device of national significance—a wheat-sheaf infested with the black rats of Old England. In reply to American inquiries, the learned author was able to trace, from accounts of the Royal Household preserved in the Record Office, the establishment of this office, and the precise description of the livery worn by the King's Rat-killer for two hundred years. But while small matters, as well as great, have been recorded through the centuries in the State archives, scarcely any records have survived in the custody of the Royal Household or of State Departments, which were allowed (and which are still allowed) to keep official documents without proper supervision.

Apart from privileged collections, like the records of the Royal Household, the position of extra-territorial archives is a matter of anxiety.² The Dominions are competent to deal with the imperial records at large, but the Royal Commission of 1910 elicited the important fact that the archives of the Government Houses and Colonial Secretaries' Offices in the Channel Islands and Crown Colonies are largely derelict.³

¹ Sir Arthur Shipley, Master of Christ's College, Cambridge.

² As to the Household Records see 1914 Report, p. 53 and Appx. (II), pp. 104, 171 sq. As to the archives of the Chancelleries of British Legations see *ibid.*, p. 171 sq.

³ 1914 Report, Appx. (II), p. 72 sq., and above, p. 170. The following extract from a letter written by a distinguished Colonial antiquary is instructive:

'I have a strong suspicion that Washington's first American forefather went to Virginia from Barbados. Hoping to prove this, I lately made some effort to trace the matter. To my disgust I learned that the papers I was in quest of were believed to be among some bags of old records that, a few years ago, were cast into the sea. The Colonial Secretary of Barbados of that day had himself photographed as he sat on one of the bags with a pipe in his mouth!'

It is true that isolated losses of British Public Records have been noted and deplored by native antiquaries ; but this is not enough. There is need (as the recent Royal Commission perceived) of an exact inquiry into the extent and causes of the loss of official documents during the last century. A systematic reconstruction of those losses would produce a deep impression on public opinion, and would materially assist in preventing similar mishaps.¹ It might even assist us to recover documents which would fill many gaps in the existing series, for hitherto no serious attempt has been made in that direction. To ensure any measure of success in such an attempt it is necessary to look for clues which may lead to the identification of missing documents. There are many ways of dealing with this problem ; but none of them can be effectual without an adequate knowledge of the existing sources and their environment, from first to last. It is obvious that when they have been located, the position of the documents should be carefully noted.

In the lifetime of our own fathers, the cellars, sheds, and attics which served for so many centuries as 'archives' had become the sepulchre of a countless multitude of historical documents. To this fate they were doomed by the unsophisticated practice of an earlier age, and by the complacent egotism of later bureaucrats. In the Victorian era the floors were still strewn with tattered skins, the remains of stately rolls devoured by the monster of decay : and before long another lethal chamber was prepared, in which superfluous papers were torn in pieces to make materials for more superfluous papers. Here, again, countless documents have perished without so much as an official epitaph : *Vestigia nulla retrorsum*.²

The further procedure that is requisite in order to recover such missing documents as were formerly the property of the Crown or of local authorities and institutions, must depend upon the measures that are taken for that purpose by the Government, under its existing powers or by recourse to new legislation. We have seen

¹ Such incidents as the chance discovery and misappropriation of State Papers like the Thurloe, Croker, and other 'collections' seem to have made no impression whatever on the responsible authorities.

² 'Viewed as vestigial records of the passage of the War, or as a source of enlightenment upon the many problems which the War has bequeathed to us': Registrar-General's Report (June 1919); an able appreciation of the records.

that, in theory, all official documents can be claimed by the Crown under the Public Record Office Act of 1838 and the Order in Council of 5 March 1852, or further Orders, though such claims have rarely been made. In practice, however, new legislation is necessary to enable local authorities and institutions to vindicate their rights, and this should make the misappropriation of both central and local records a statutory offence.¹

DEFECTIVE CUSTODY OF ARCHIVES

There has been a general agreement among antiquaries during the last three centuries that the loss of records has been chiefly due to the want of special repositories. A Treasury or Wardrobe were very well in their way, but they were used for other purposes, and even so they lacked the element of permanency. The State archives in Westminster Abbey and the Rolls Chapel survived almost intact, while those stored in the palaces of Westminster and Whitehall, in the Tower of London, in Somerset House, and in many other secular repositories have suffered grievous losses. An outstanding cause of loss is the periodical removal or repair of these repositories. In this connexion a gatehouse seems to have proved a very perilous receptacle, whether it was utilized as an overflow muniment room or as a prison.² Another undesirable repository of official records was the office or residence of the clerks who made them. Long after the makeshift repositories described in the 1800 and 1837 Reports had been abandoned, judicial records continued to be preserved in this personal custody down to our own time.³ A still larger number of State Papers or Departmental Records in the individual custody of various Palace officials have

¹ It has been suggested elsewhere that the right of pre-emption by the State might dispense with the necessity for an Act of Resumption; but this is a matter of opinion. The immediate difficulty is to establish the commission of an offence herein.

² The unsatisfactory condition of records and State Papers in the Westminster and Whitehall gatehouses has been previously referred to (p. 132 *n*). The use of a gatehouse as a prison is well known, and is exemplified in the case of Newgate (1914 Report, Appx. (II), p. 137). In this aspect, documents are associated with prisoners as well as with treasure and regalia. The early prison records have almost disappeared, probably when the Prison Commissioners were appointed in 1878 (1914 Report, Appx. (II), p. 175). For the method of removals of records see 1836 Report, p. 154 sq., and Maitland, *Memoranda de Parlamento*, p. xv.

³ e. g. Assize (Circuit) Records (cf. 1912 Report, p. 8). In the case of statutory records we have the current registers of Births, Deaths, and Marriages in the custody of district registrars (1914 Report, Appx. (II), pp. 43-5, cf. above, p. 186 *n*).

shared the same fate,¹ and in these and other cases losses may be attributed to the want of proper accommodation, the older records being stored in disused basements and even in coal-cellar and outhouses.²

The Records deposited in the Tower of London suffered, like those at Westminster, from damp, owing to their proximity to the river. This will probably explain some alarming reports on the state of the records there during the sixteenth century, as well as the necessity for the extensive salvage operations conducted by Prynne after the Restoration.³ But the records in the Tower of London were exposed to a danger of another kind. For nearly three centuries the Ordnance Office centred there had collected a vast store of gunpowder and inflammable materials. An explosion would have wiped out the famous Chancery enrolments on which the documentary history of this country during the later Middle Ages is chiefly based. As to this, the chief officer of the London Fire Brigade had reported that 'No merchant of ordinary produce would keep his books of accounts in the same situation'.⁴

During the eighteenth century successive reports by Parliamentary Committees lay stress on the urgent need of improvements in the housing of the records, for an attic which admitted the rain through defective tiles or slates was almost as dangerous as a basement occasionally flooded by high tides.⁵

The survival of the judicial records, now transferred to the Public Record Office, appears little short of miraculous in view of the conditions of their earlier custody described in many official or semi-official works. One explanation of this phenomenon may be the excellent quality of the parchment and paper and the firm character of the writing. Again, these records owe much to their form, since tightly rolled membranes and highly compressed files of documents can turn a flow of water and offer a stout resistance to the insidious attacks of damp. Even the books, with projecting

¹ 1914 Report, Appx. (II), pp. 171-3, and above, pp. 124 *n*, 195.

² 1914 Report, *loc. cit.*, p. 173. The injury to the earliest Articles of Friendly Societies in recent times through being stored in a damp coal-cellar at Westminster is a typical example of this contemptuous custody (*ibid.*, p. 169).

³ Ayloffe, *Ancient Charters*, pp. xxvii sq., xxxvi.

⁴ *Perilous State and Neglect of the Public Records* (1849), p. 4.

⁵ The marks of high tides can still be seen in the basement of Pembroke House in Whitehall Gardens (Board of Trade).

boards and protecting flaps of leather, could stand much hard wear without serious injury.

Unfortunately the effects of damp could not be treated at once with the skilful method of the modern craftsman ; and for that matter thousands of documents which became infected in those evil days have remained without attention and are perishing before our eyes. It is not surprising to find that an outbreak of fire might cause less damage than the water used for its extinction.¹ Indeed it would be practically impossible, in time of peace, to set fire to a repository properly constructed and equipped—if only it is sufficiently isolated. Inadequate accommodation and neglectful custody have been chiefly responsible for the destruction or injury of the national archives of this country down to the reign of Queen Victoria ; from that date onwards the worst ravages of fire and water have been stayed.²

It has been observed elsewhere that the new era associated with the Science and Economy of Archives was inaugurated by a national as well as by an intellectual movement. The patriotism and culture of statesmen and archivists alike deters them from leaving documents to perish unexamined in damp cellars or dusty attics ; while the scholarly perception of historians and antiquaries has encouraged the discovery of manuscript treasures buried through the neglect or indifference of former times.

THE OFFICIAL DESTRUCTION OF HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

This appreciation of the value and uses of the national archives is not, however, shared by all their owners or custodians. Freedom of thought and action, accompanied by a notable loss of reverence, has led to the neglect or deliberate destruction of accumulations of records which the simplicity of an earlier age had spared ; while the progress of historical learning has enabled

¹ e. g. the Quarter Sessions Records of the City of London at the Old Bailey. These were injured in the fire of 1877, but rather by water than heat. Since then nothing has been done to arrest the progress of the decay which has already led to the disposal of a large proportion of these records. Again, in 1834, some records of the Augmentation Office, in St. Margaret's Lane, were thrown out of the windows and damaged by water in the gutters.

² This statement will scarcely include private as well as public collections, for the transformation of old English mansions by electric installations and the institution of bedroom fires have been responsible for many serious outbreaks. In this way numerous muniments have been destroyed, for these are not salvaged with the same alacrity as works of art and other chattels of intrinsic value.

us to dispense with many superfluous documents. Again, the aesthetic interest of the subject has attracted the attention of collectors who have little interest in historical sources ; while the commercial value of notable manuscripts increasingly excites the greed of professional agents.

These two causes, then, will account for the greater part of the losses to which historical documents have been subject during the last seventy years. The extent of those losses and their consequences are not easily estimated, but it may safely be stated that in the case of England it would exceed the total bulk of all previous losses from whatever cause.

At the same time we should find that losses by destruction and by sale have affected different classes of documents. Thus comparatively few judicial records have been destroyed since 1882, when the statutory procedure under the Public Record Office Act of 1877 began to operate.¹ On the other hand, the State Papers and Departmental Records were now seriously affected by the problem of accommodation. In the first place, some ancient naval and military departments had been abolished, or reorganized, since the Napoleonic Wars, and their records had been temporarily deposited in Government storehouses.² The crisis of the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny put an end to this compromise ; the old records had to be removed at short notice, and as their value and interest had already been discerned by such competent antiquaries as Sir Francis Palgrave and Sir Thomas Hardy, further consignments were made to the new Repository in Fetter Lane. When there was no more room in the existing block for Departmental transfers, the records were stacked in the old houses which then formed the frontage of the Rolls estate giving on to Chancery Lane. Here they remained, undescribed and practically inaccessible, exposed to injury from leaky roofs or bulging walls and to fire from searches made with

¹ Official respect for judicial records is of course traditional ; but this sentiment did not appear to the Record Commissioners very helpful to historical research when it prevented the use of such unequalled sources of historical information as the ' Chancery Masters Documents ' (1912 Report, p. 8) and the ' Port Books ' (*ibid.*, p. 9). In these later days the treatment of Judicial Records has taken the form of opening closely filed bundles and mounting the contents in appropriate series, to the great advantage of medieval students.

² Deptford Dockyard and the Tower of London.

primitive lamps, from 1855 to 1890, when the old houses were pulled down to make room for a new wing of the Public Record Office.

Pending this expansion of the main repository, these records found a most inadequate refuge in an old barge-house beneath the river front of Somerset House. Only a small proportion of them, however, could be permanently accommodated in the Repository, which had already afforded hospitality to a large mass of modern State Papers and Departmental Records since the Admiralty and War Office records were first salvaged. In fact, the destruction of the earlier Departmental Records had gone on apace as a result of the activities of a Departmental Committee (1859 to 1865) which was succeeded (in 1882) by a Statutory Committee under the Act of 1877.

Whether the documents thus disposed of were of historical value or not is a question that cannot be properly answered without due reflection and research.¹ There are many antiquaries who object, on principle, to any destruction of records whatsoever, and unless it is practised with the utmost caution, and with ample knowledge and full consideration of all the circumstances, it may easily have disastrous consequences. One argument that is advanced to justify the destruction of public records lays stress on the greater facilities afforded for consulting documents of real value if worthless documents are destroyed. It may be suggested that a desire to economize space is a more obvious motive; but it is not always safe to deal with large and unarranged masses of records if authorized destruction goes hand in hand with sortation. The Royal Commission on Public Records has indeed made some pertinent observations on this subject; but it is at least possible that the real value of a large proportion of these Departmental Records lay in their elucidation of the institutional history of this country. In any case no steps should have

¹ The wording of the official test of documentary values was undoubtedly drafted at a date when the use of records was associated with judicial decisions or legal opinions, family pedigrees, and political or constitutional incidents. The possibility of certain types of social and economic documents being of historical interest had not occurred to record officers in the Mid-Victorian period. Indeed, some of them were of opinion that vouchers of ancient accounts are 'now of no value' and that correspondence (such as the Cely and Stonor Papers) was 'obviously never intended for preservation among the Public Records'.

been taken in the matter until every class of document had been fully described and their administrative uses clearly explained.¹

The attitude herein of the administrator and the archivist, respectively, can be easily realized. The former, as a rule, considers only the immediate effects of any measure of official economy. He is usually unversed in the history of the department that he administers, and even of the constitution of the State itself. His attitude of indifference to old records is a traditional and to some extent a natural one. Zeal for improvement or economy may easily lead to promotion and honour, while the official responsibility for a 'regrettable incident' cannot be seriously regarded as a deterrent. On the other hand, the archivist is conscious of a moral responsibility for the survival of every document of permanent value; and neither his traditions nor his reputation will allow him to sacrifice his charge for a few pieces of silver or bronze.

At the same time, the departmental officer who knows his work can be of great assistance to the trained archivist and historian in identifying or classifying current papers and expounding their significance. In fact, the help that the Record Officers have received in the several departments in connexion with the preparation of the Statutory Schedules will be appreciated from the official exposition by a gifted Civil Servant of the specimen schedule which is printed as an Appendix to this work.² This useful co-operation, however, cannot justify the existing system of departmental custody, inasmuch as the expert official cannot convert himself into an expert archivist; and when he ceases to deal with current papers these should pass into the hands of an archivist qualified to deal with them efficiently. As the question of the revision of the existing procedure for the disposal of valueless records has been raised by the Public Records Commission, the defects which have been noted therein may be briefly summarized. Some remedies for these defects have also been suggested here and in another chapter.³

1. No practical means have been devised for ensuring the approval of the Schedules of valueless documents by historical

¹ The Sections of the Commissioners' Reports and their Appendices dealing with the destruction of Public Records would perhaps in any other time have received the attention invited by the public press and by a committee of historians and economists.

² Appx. C.

³ Chap. XIII.

scholars, whose requirements rather than those of the departments should be considered, at least in the case of documents no longer in official use. A helpful suggestion was made in a Report of the Royal Commission that copies of the Statutory Schedules might be posted in the Record Office and British Museum¹ as well as laid before Parliament, where they have never received the slightest consideration. Copies of the Schedules should also be on sale.

2. The interests of historical students cannot be safeguarded by the existing official method of weeding out superfluous records, for the simple reason that the destruction (ardently desired by their departmental custodians) of at least three-fourths of the records is merely deferred for a period varying from six months to thirty years for respective classes of documents. During the period of this *moratorium* the records remain inaccessible for purposes of study.

3. The eventual destruction of scheduled records is contingent on the preservation of specimens of each class ; but this provision has been neglected in past times, and something more than a perfunctory selection of the specimens should be insisted on. Lists or indexes of the documents scheduled and preserved respectively (including specimens) should be printed.

4. In order that the disposal of official documents may be properly carried out, it is essential that the administration of all departmental archives should be entrusted to trained archivists. Until this practice is carried out, it is useless to reckon on the survival of any official records which have not been transferred to the Public Record Office; but, for reasons stated elsewhere (pp. 135-40), there has from the first been insufficient space for their reception in that repository.

These *desiderata* may seem impracticable, or even ungracious ; but it should be remembered that we are trustees for posterity herein, and that the wholesale destruction, during the last seventy years, of official documents dated since the Restoration has made an adequate history of our administrative system or even a survey of our national institutions a matter of increasing difficulty.

¹ It has been suggested that copies of the Schedules might also be sent for the information of the principal historical societies.

THE ABSTRACTION OF HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

The remaining cause of serious loss to our modern archives, to which reference has been previously made, cannot be wholly attributed to an external agency or to internal negligence. Public Records have come into the possession of Ministers of State through the indifference or timidity of the Departments concerned : for archivists, as a shrewd American scholar recently observed, are a ' feeble folk ' in matters of this sort, whether they serve under a monarchy or a republic. The mischief is partly due to the habit of removing documents for more convenient reference ; partly to neglect of filing them in accordance with the regulations. These malpractices have been deplored by archivists for more than three centuries past, and, as occasional search-warrants or departmental edicts had proved ineffectual, the reformers of 1838 proposed to include in their Bill a section empowering the Master of the Rolls to recover missing records. This was struck out by the Law Officers, and another policy was eventually adopted, by which the contents of such documents were described, for the information of students, in the Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission. For a time, this expedient promised good results ; but, of late years, serious difficulties have been encountered. In the first place, the Reports often need elucidation from the original documents, and access to these is sometimes refused on one pretext or another. Again, it has been found that in the course of fifty years the ownership and local distribution of the records has altered ; while in many cases important collections have been dispersed by sale, sometimes to foreign purchasers. The true character of these losses has not yet been generally realized, and students continue to be deprived of their right to consult State Papers which have never ceased to be the property of the Crown, and the abstraction of which also diminishes the historical value of the remainder of the series. It is, perhaps, useless to appeal to national sentiment, when we are unable to appreciate the spirit which has made the French archives an appanage of France, or to respect Italian protests against the exportation of native works of art filched from their shrines to embellish British and American picture galleries. In matters of this sort ' Noblesse oblige ' ; but although none of

us would dream of retaining official documents as a good investment for our descendants, we sometimes forget that our own ancestors would also have shrunk from the prospect of a development which in many cases has come to pass.

IMPROVED METHODS OF PRESERVING LOCAL RECORDS

There can be no doubt that if our Local Records had been organized by the Record Commission of 1831 on the lines of the Archives Départementales and Communales in France, not only would ample accommodation have been found, but opportunity would have been afforded for their description and publication. The tragedy of our local archives lies in the destruction or dispersal of so many types without a trace being left of their actual nature or of their relations with other documents. We are just beginning to recognize the value of the publications of Quarter Sessions records, and if these isolated texts were supplemented by a series of 'Select documents relating to Local History' we should not only possess the means for a systematic study of our local institutions, but also for a sound decision as to their respective value. A selection could then be made from the teeming archives of various local authorities for permanent preservation in the various District Record Offices, which should be established on the lines of the regional archives of continental states.

There has always been a certain amount of rivalry between archivists and librarians, and the position of the latter with regard to the custody of Local Records has not been generally appreciated. In other countries archivists are associated with librarians and curators of Museums in the care of Local Records; but a British librarian may find himself the only competent custodian of documents which are either derelict or in need of expert supervision. This interesting development is partly due to the fact that an Act of Parliament has imposed the duty of establishing and maintaining public libraries upon the local communities;¹ but the British library system owes much also to the generosity of an American benefactor,² and most of all to the zeal and culture of a professional guild, which has done much to assist its members to qualify themselves for their responsibilities in connexion with the

¹ *Repertory*, p. 147.

² Andrew Carnegie.

advanced education of British citizens. For since neither Parliament nor the local authority had devised any scheme of training or had suggested any standard of competence in Librarianship, this obvious requirement has been supplied by the Library Association, which recently laid down a course of academic study for a diploma in Librarianship,¹ following up the experiment of a course of academic study which had been successfully established in a Summer School at Aberystwyth.²

But what has been so fortunately accomplished by private effort in 1919, ought to have been established by the responsible authorities thirty years ago. If this had been done, the public libraries would have materially assisted in the preservation of a vast number of historical documents which have now disappeared. There are still great possibilities of usefulness in this direction; but the movement that has been begun is in need of recognition and supervision by the State, and the librarians themselves would be well-advised to co-operate in all matters relating to Local Records with the local historical and antiquarian societies, pending some measure for placing the archives of this country on a better footing.³ Our backwardness in this matter, in comparison with the activities of our continental neighbours, is well known; but it has been usually supposed that our position is not worse than that of our American kinsmen. This, however, is not the case. Although the attitude of American and British legislators, bureaucrats, or journalists towards the national archives may be equally unsatisfactory to historical students, the universities, academies, and other institutions of the United States represent an intelligent interest in the subject vastly greater than any that exists in the United Kingdom. The Federal Government at Washington, it is true, has not yet provided a central repository for the records of the State Department and Supreme Court of Justice, such as existed with us in the shape of a Public Record

¹ University of London, *University College Calendar*, pp. vii, 36.

² *Library Association Record* (September 1917). The Summer School of Library Service referred to held six sessions (1916-22). Its success has been due to the organizing ability of the Librarian of the National Library of Wales, Mr. John Ballinger, who has done so much to discover and preserve the Local Records of the Principality.

³ The attitude of Librarians in this connexion may perhaps be indicated by a letter in *The Times* of 5 July 1920, and by the Proceedings of the Conference on Local War Records previously referred to.

Office for each of the three sister kingdoms. On the other hand, the Federated States, or the majority of them, began, more than twenty years ago, to legislate for the adequate custody, maintenance, and production of their Local Records. There is, indeed, no common archive service or professional training; but 'archivists' of several grades have in many cases received a University and Library School instruction in history and archive work respectively.¹

It has been remarked elsewhere that no Government Department in this country is responsible for the welfare of our Archives, Libraries, or Museums;² but if the history teachers and librarians made common cause, some assistance might perhaps be given by the Board of Education in this matter, especially as the time must soon come when the method of teaching local history by regional surveys will be generally adopted in secondary schools.

THE INFLUENCE OF PUBLIC OPINION

It must not be supposed, however, that public opinion in this country is wholly indifferent to the safety of central or local archives. Whenever the loss of Public Records is notified, indignation is widely expressed.³ The sentiment is possibly inspired by the traditions of an age when records were held in great esteem; but, however creditable this sentiment may be to the patriotism and culture of this later age, it is not without its disadvantages. The cry of 'vandalism' may be unmarked through frequent repetition, and those who raise it may be denounced by those who would pass by on the other side.

It is certainly a discouraging fact that even when the evidence of transgression is forthcoming, no official action is taken by the authorities concerned to vindicate the precautions enjoined by public Acts and public policy; and this apathy perhaps has been responsible for a certain tendency towards 'direct action' in the matter by local societies and institutions, with the goodwill of local authorities. Apart, however, from the serious difficulty of co-operation, such action could only lead to sporadic activity

¹ Considerable progress has been made since the appointment of a Public Archives Committee by the National Association of State Libraries. The first Report of the Committee is published in the Proceedings of the 14th Convention (1911).

² Above, pp. 17 sq., 49 sq.

³ *The Times*, 30 June 1920, and *The Times Literary Supplement*, 1 July 1920.

on the part of various local bodies which have no prescriptive or statutory powers, and also a very incomplete equipment for the purpose.¹ In other countries Local Records of a public nature are under the control of the local authorities and under the supervision of the State. As a result, the archives are administered by trained officials at the public expense, and this official recognition not only protects Local Records from the attentions of private collectors, but sets an example of patriotism and scientific method which has borne good fruit.

Even this incomplete survey may suggest some useful reflections. National treasures that have suffered such heavy losses in the past should be carefully guarded in the future by all civilized peoples. This could be most effectually accomplished by international agreement for the immunity of archives, as well as by improved methods of custody. But the archives, whether central or local, should be regarded as something more than a mere raree-show. Every nation should co-operate in their description and reconstruction and in the co-ordination of their contents towards the making of a new history of a better world. It is true that we might continue to leave the survival of the official sources of historical information to chance, and probably few of us would be any wiser. Indeed, we have been warned by writers on historical method that we must be prepared for the disappearance of a considerable percentage of these sources. We have been informed by great officers of State that we may not see certain documents, and by minor officials that many other documents are not yet arranged or accessible, and we have accepted the situation with becoming resignation. There is, however, another and a more serious view of the situation. Statesmen and students may come and go, official policy or historical method may be changed for the better, but the gaps in the archives will remain to balk future historians as they have hindered our own researches for an earlier period.

¹ Four main interests can be distinguished here : (1) the official element (Government Departments); (2) Civil authorities of the Counties, Towns, and Parishes; (3) Ecclesiastical authorities; (4) Academic bodies or persons, including Learned Societies, Librarians or Curators, History Teachers, and Historical Students.

CHAPTER XI

EARLY COMMISSIONS AND COMMITTEES OF INQUIRY (1703-1837)

Expedients of Early Record Keeping—Parliamentary Inquiries during the Eighteenth Century — Conception of a General Repository of Records — The Select Committee and Royal Commission of 1800 — The Record Commission of 1831 — Further Parliamentary Inquiry in 1836 — Drafts of Public Record Office Bills — Parliamentary Inquiry in 1840.

It would be only reasonable to suppose that the ancient archives of this country were in frequent need of remedial measures to ensure their preservation. Evidence in support of this supposition is found in occasional references to the condition of the records and in more frequent notices of expedients devised for their improvement. As we might also have expected, these are chiefly concerned with the safe custody, arrangement, and description of the documents, more particularly of the continuous series of enrolments of judicial or administrative acts. Loose documents in the nature of vouchers or exhibits were left more or less to their fate. To our ancestors the records had a legal rather than an historical value, and their custodians, who were also their makers, profited not a little from the reproduction of perishable instruments by way of registration or exemplification.

EXPEDIENTS OF EARLY RECORD KEEPING

This theory of early record keeping will help to explain the failure of divers attempts to provide some remedy for the perilous and inconvenient state of the medieval and post-medieval archives. It is useless to marvel why those master-builders of all time neglected to provide suitable repositories for records. To erect the stately fabric of a church or castle was a very different matter from fitting up the interior of some building for the reception of perishable documents, a procedure which was not yet part of the general conception of archive economy.

Many documents must eventually perish unless they are preserved in a special repository ; but even the famous Treasuries of the Tower of London and Westminster Abbey, which to some extent served this purpose, were quite unserviceable judged by modern standards. Still, such as they were, they served to concentrate the records in a recognized position. The practice of keeping official documents in private houses was frequently denounced by contemporary officials, and in every age it has resulted in disaster.

During the medieval period of record custody it was considered enough to repair, from time to time, the more ruinous buildings and to make occasional transfers of outlying records to the main repositories. These operations were nominally carried out by royal commands ; but, from the Restoration onwards, the matter came under the immediate notice of Parliament by means of special inquiries and inspections of repositories at the instance of Committees of the two Houses.

PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRIES DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The results of these investigations are not described in sufficient detail to enable us to form a clear idea of the structural deficiencies or of the internal equipment of the several repositories. We can gather, however, that the general conditions were thoroughly unsatisfactory. For example, the Lords' Committee, which conducted a desultory inquiry between 1703 and 1719, reported that judicial records¹ were kept in Westminster Palace over a washhouse and stables, and that the repository was so damp and noisome that records rotted and clerks refused to work there.

Again, when the old Rolls House was rebuilt, in 1717, a great quantity of records was found among the debris in a state of filth and disorder. Between the issue of the Lords' Report on the Public Records and the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1799, further efforts were made by Committees of both Houses to improve the accommodation provided for the Public Records. In 1772 improvements were

¹ Possibly these included the Assize Rolls, so many of which have perished, to our great loss.

made at the Rolls Chapel which enabled a scriptorium to be instituted in that repository, thus dispensing with the necessity for allowing the records to be compiled in private offices. Before the end of the century somewhat extensive repairs were carried out at Westminster, on the recommendation of a Parliamentary Committee, in consequence of which Somerset House was utilized as an emergency repository.¹ On the whole, the records of the Departments of State were safely housed during this period, though they were as yet inaccessible to the public; but something more than the restoration of scattered repositories was required to enable the public to obtain any real benefit from the use of the records.

CONCEPTION OF A GENERAL REPOSITORY OF RECORDS

As early as the reign of James I legal antiquaries and archivists had conceived the idea of concentrating the judicial records in a single repository, to facilitate a comprehensive system of registration. This office of 'General Remembrance', under a 'General Remembrancer', is often regarded as the germ of the Public Record Office itself. Rather, it might have become the head-quarters of a society of record agents, established somewhat on the lines of the College of Arms or of the contemporary State Paper Office. The obvious advantages of a central repository were kept in sight during the next two hundred years, and before the movement, in 1832, for appropriating the Rolls Estate, Committees of Parliament had considered the expediency of erecting a central repository for the judicial records at Westminster.²

Eventually the belated repository, begun in 1851 and completed in 1899, proved utterly inadequate for the accommodation of the Public Records to be provided for under the Public Record Office Act of 1838. Thus the crude medieval expedient of utilizing any sort of building, or any part thereof, as a receptacle of records has been perpetuated, with all the patchwork and all the leakages that are associated with a system long ago condemned by competent authorities. In place of the sixty Metropolitan

¹ Reports issued in 1788, 1789, and 1793.

² In 1647, 1661, and 1732; cf. Thomas, *Public Departments*, p. xxxvii.

repositories, which appeared a monstrous distribution to contemporary antiquaries, there were recently some hundreds; but they exhibit a structural improvement in keeping with the progress of the century. In these later days, however, the danger to the Records is not from fire and damp and vermin so much as from an organized destruction which is the common fate of all derelict documents. Students of History cannot hope to benefit by the Act of 1838 until the provisions of that Act are duly carried out.

THE SELECT COMMITTEE AND ROYAL COMMISSION OF 1800

It is impossible here to review the movements for reform prior to the nineteenth century. But in order to understand the existing situation it is necessary to pass in hurried survey the service rendered to historical study by the comprehensive surveys of British archives authorized by the House of Commons between 1800 and 1838.¹

The Select Committee appointed in 1800 was well aware of the existing situation, and its procedure was planned with much judgement and skill. It noted that nearly seventy years, barren of reforms, had elapsed since the last Parliamentary inquiry in 1732, which had dealt, most inadequately, with the administrative arrears of a like period.² The requirements of the national archives had accumulated since 1732, and new problems had arisen, through changes of judicial and administrative procedure.³

The proceedings of the Committee are clearly described in its Report. In the first place, it was decided to compile a list of all the public repositories of records in England and Scotland. A circular letter was then addressed to each, containing specific inquiries as to the condition and use of the buildings, catalogues of the records and the clerical establishment, with its duties and its relations with the public.

¹ The activities of the Collectors and Methodizers (*Handbook*, p. xxxv) appointed in the middle of the eighteenth century seem to have been practically ignored by writers dealing with the judicial records, probably because these pseudo-archivists were chiefly concerned with the State Papers (Hall, *Studies*, pp. 41-3).

² The Committee observes that the earlier situation had been aggravated by the disturbances of the Civil War and Interregnum. The Committee of 1732 only dealt with eighteen repositories; the Committee of 1800 with more than 300.

³ e. g. the Acts of 1731 (abolishing Law Latin) and 1782 (Burke's Act). Both these measures had (indirectly) a great influence on the custody of Public Records.

In connexion with these investigations, the Committee purposely omitted to include the archives of certain Departments of State, as well as all public documents contained in private collections.¹ The information obtained from the replies to these inquiries was supplemented by personal inspections. The investigations of the Committee established the following facts. The repositories were found to be in fairly good condition;² but most of them were filled to overflowing with records, mostly unarranged and undescribed. Transfers of Parish Registers were neglected, and a General Registration of records relating to land was much needed. The Committee strongly recommended that authority should be given for the destruction of useless or 'inconvenient' records.³

On the whole, the recommendations of the Committee are somewhat vague and unsatisfactory. The existing accommodation for the records and the official methods of arrangement and description are accepted, with some reservations, as adequate, and very little is said in favour of the centralization of the records in order to facilitate those operations. The Committee passes on to enunciate its pet theory, borrowed from French scholarship, of the paramount importance of publishing specimens of the records for the purpose of 'opening' them to the public.

The ulterior object of those who moved for this Committee was to secure the appointment of a Royal Commission with administrative as well as advisory powers. Such a Commission was set up in 1800 and its Warrant was several times renewed during the next thirty years. The Commissioners' first General Report was not issued till 1812. A Second Report was issued in 1819. No further reports were issued by the Commissioners

¹ It will be remembered that a state of war with France existed at this date. This explanation is important in connexion with the later question as to the nature of the records included within the terms of the Public Record Office Act of 1838. The Committee claimed to have recovered public documents from private custody, and powers for this purpose were included in the Public Record Office Bill of 1837.

² The vaults of Somerset House provided a marked exception (p. 215). It must be remembered, however, that no personal inspection was made by the Committee, and the replies of custodians who for the most part did their own repairs cannot be relied on in such a matter.

³ The Committee supports this recommendation by the unfortunate instance of the Exchequer 'Port Books' (see 1912 Report, p. 9, and Appx. (II), p. 45 sq.). However, its members were Parliament men, pledged to economy, and with an imperfect technical knowledge of the subject.

appointed between 1819 and 1831. The Reports covering the period 1800 to 1819 are meagre and perfunctory, and even if they have been printed in an abbreviated form,¹ they give no evidence of any serious attempt to improve the unsatisfactory conditions in respect of the custody, arrangement, and description of the records.

THE RECORD COMMISSION OF 1831

In 1831 a new Commission was issued and the permanent officials, whose methods had already been severely criticized by competent antiquaries, made special efforts to repair the omissions of its predecessors.

The Record Commissioners were authorized to 'methodize' the records and papers in public offices and repositories, to make copies of and repair those decayed, to make Calendars and Indexes, and to superintend the printing of such as they might cause to be printed.

At the outset, the new Commission followed closely the procedure of the Select Committee of 1800. Circular letters of inquiry were issued in 1833 to the custodians of repositories and public libraries, and occasional inspections were made by two of the Commissioners. These investigations naturally showed that the state of the Public Records had gone from bad to worse. For more than thirty years the Commissioners had been inattentive to their requirements and intent on literary projects carried out to the pecuniary advantage of the officials, though at an unreasonable cost to the nation. We hear that the repositories are scattered, exposed to fire and damp, and unsuitable, in point of construction, for the accommodation of records. The official establishments are disorganized; record officers are intent on fees and rewards as record agents. The attempts which had been made, since 1732, to collect related records into special repositories are referred to, but in the Commissioners' opinion the only satisfactory solution is to erect a general repository for all the Public Records.

At the same time, the Commissioners were ready to approve ambitious schemes for publishing the records which had already postponed their salvage for more than thirty years. In this

¹ They appear to have been issued in some such form.

connexion the Secretary of the Commission was allowed to organize a staff of transcribers modelled on the French *Ecole des Chartes* and equipped with a large collection of palaeographical works.¹

The publication of a General Report in 1837 was the expiring effort of the Record Commission, which already stood condemned by the inquiries of another Select Committee for grave neglect of public duty, if not for more sordid misdemeanours.²

FURTHER PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRY IN 1836

The Select Committee of 1836, whose Report completely discredited the Record Commission of 1800–37 and ushered in the administration of the Public Record Office, which still exists, was charged with judicial rather than administrative duties; but this Committee went far more deeply into the subject than its predecessor in 1800, as the following passage in its Report will testify :

Your Committee has seen the Public Records deposited at the Tower over a gun-powder magazine, and contiguous to a steam-engine in daily operation; at the Rolls, in a chapel where divine service is performed; in vaults two stories underground at Somerset House; in dark and humid cellars at Westminster Hall; in the stables of the late Carlton Ride; in the Chapter House of Westminster Abbey; in offices surrounded by and subject to all the accidents of private dwellings.³

It may perhaps be surmised that by this time the reformers themselves had become somewhat disillusioned with regard both to the proceedings of the Commissioners and the value of their published work. However that may be, the Committee dealt faithfully with these unjust stewards.

¹ We learn that the sub-Commissioners, in the capacity of editors, employed young men, at a small salary, to prepare their transcripts. It is not surprising, therefore, that these transcribers should have seemed to be in need of further education. The Committee of 1836 merely objected to the equipment of this 'School of Charters' at the public expense. Several efforts were made, in 1837, to bring in all the documents and other property of the Record Commission. In 1838 a schedule was actually delivered by the Secretary (C. P. Cooper). The documents were deposited partly in the State Paper Office and partly at the Rolls House; but apparently many others were withheld. A number of valuable transcripts presented or bequeathed by the Secretary to the Society of Lincoln's Inn was recently placed by the Benchers at the disposal of the Public Record Office and the Royal Historical Society.

² The state of the Commission's accounts would in later times have caused a serious scandal. The officials do not seem to have been pressed for a complete statement, and the Commission was allowed to expire with the death of William IV.

³ 1836 Report, p. viii.

After a patient hearing on numerous controversial matters, the Committee delivered the following judgement on the work of the Record Commission :

The ordinary and unostentatious business entrusted to them, that of keeping the Records in a good state of preservation and giving the public sufficient facilities of access and use has, naturally enough, in spite of its importance, been considered as of inferior interest, and been consequently in great measure neglected. To the more ostensible work of publication, they have paid larger but by no means systematic or well-regulated attention.¹

Having thus disposed of the Commission, the Select Committee contributes some interesting materials for a consideration of the constitution of a new record authority, with a view to the remedy of existing defects. The Committee favoured the erection of a General Repository under the direction of an Inspector-General, or of not more than three Commissioners. A salaried administration was, however, essential, for 'gratuitous neglect in the management of public business is a most unwise economy'.² Another memorable pronouncement by this Committee refers to the undesirability of allowing any member of the administration to receive remuneration as an editor.³

It is now generally agreed that the bitterly controversial literature which led to the appointment of the Select Committee of 1836, and which followed the publication of its Proceedings and Report, can best be dealt with by the judicious bibliographer.⁴ It should, however, be noted that these semi-official effusions have preserved many interesting particulars of the system of record keeping in that period.

The topography as well as the biography of the archives is also elucidated by the Reports of the proceedings of the Committees and Commissions of this period. It may be hoped that some day these references to the archive economy of the period may form the subject of contributions to the *Transactions* of a Society of British Archivists.

¹ 1836 Report, p. xxxvii. The Select Committee issued an *interim* Report on the financial affairs of the Record Commission in July 1836. The final Report was issued in August. As the Committee was only appointed in February of the same year not much time could be devoted to personal investigations.

² 1836 Report, p. xl.

³ *Ibid.*, p. xli.

⁴ Cf. Gross, *Sources and Literature* (1914), p. 78.

The recommendations of the Select Committee of 1836 were naturally utilized by the promoters of the Public Record Office Act of 1838; but the evolution of the Bill, as printed in the Statute Book, was somewhat complex.¹

DRAFTS OF PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE BILLS

A proposal for the erection of a general repository was made, as far back as 1833, by the then existing Record Commission, which promoted a Bill for that purpose. This repository was designed exclusively for the accommodation of the judicial records, and the scheme was based upon a recommendation by the Committee of 1732. But instead of a site upon Crown land, within the Palace of Westminster, the Rolls estate was now selected, and became the key to the situation. The prestige and influence of the Master of the Rolls were thenceforth exerted on behalf of a scheme which favoured the Rolls House and Chapel at the expense of ancient rivals in the precincts of the Tower of London and Westminster Abbey.²

The Public Record Office Bills of 1834 and 1837, though in most respects unsatisfactory, present a few interesting features. The Bill of 1834 paved the way for the administration of the Public Records by a permanent Commission. The Bill of 1837 proposed the appointment of a Keeper-General, and recognized the necessity of destroying valueless records. A third Bill was introduced in the Session of 1838 and passed with some important amendments. The provisions omitted or modified include the following: Such records as could be transferred at once were to be placed in the legal custody of the Master of the Rolls; the remaining records were to be placed in the like custody by Order in Council. Records in the custody of private persons were to be recovered by warrant.

In any case, the new measure could have little real effect on the existing situation unless it had been administered by an

¹ A very full and interesting account of the proceedings which led up to the Act of 1838 is given by Professor Firth in an Appendix to the First Report of the Royal Commission on Public Records (vol. i, Part II, p. 1); cf. also above, pp. 125 sq., 209 sq.

² Lord Langdale, then Master of the Rolls, was himself one of the Record Commissioners. Before the dissolution of the Commission he had gained the implicit confidence of the Government which invited him, in March 1837, to supervise the winding up of the Commission.

authority wholly independent of the Courts of Justice and Departments of State. The history of the administration and development of the Registrar-General's Office established by Act of Parliament in the preceding year offers a striking contrast to that of the Public Record Office itself. We can scarcely doubt that the appointment of a Keeper-General of the Public Records, with carefully defined duties and sufficient powers for carrying them out, would have been more in accordance with the methods of Continental archivists.¹

The influences that were at work upon the shaping of the Public Record Office Bill of 1838 have never been revealed; but much light is thrown on the subject by Lord Langdale's official and semi-official correspondence for the date, which was partially examined, for the first time, by the Record Commissioners of 1910.² In Lord Langdale's own words, it appears that 'the plan of the Bill was to place *all* the Records under the care of the Master of the Rolls *at once*, but not to place them in his legal custody otherwise than by enactment or formal act; by enactment, in this Bill, as to the Chancery Records; and (by) formal act, as to *all others*, by the provisions of the 3rd clause'.³

This dictum assists us to realize the significance of the first four sections of the Act. The Chancery Records, which had been from time immemorial in the actual custody of the Master of the Rolls in the Rolls Chapel, or reputed to be in his custody at the Tower of London or elsewhere were, by Section III, deemed to be in his custody from the passing of the Act. At the same time the records of the central Courts of Common Law and of certain abolished Palatinates (as scheduled in Section I of the Act) were to be forthwith placed in the charge and superintendence of the Master of the Rolls, and administered by Record Officers under his control.

¹ The law officers pointed out to Lord Langdale, in July 1838, that under the Act, as drafted, he would become Keeper of all Public Records other than those of Chancery of which he was already Master. It is suggested that he wished to avoid this extension of his responsibility.

² First Report, Appx. (Part III), p. 181. The official letter books of the Master of the Rolls show that between March and May 1837 Palgrave and other Record Officers were instrumental in suppressing the Record Bill of that Session and in substituting for it another draft, which was adopted by Lord Langdale. During the passage of this Bill through Parliament in the Session of 1838 the Record Officers were profuse in suggestions and advice; but the final form of the Bill as modified by Lord Langdale and the law officers caused some disappointment to these experts, particularly in respect of the omission of power to 'call in' records which had gone astray.

³ The italics are the author's.

All other Records,¹ wherever deposited, were to be brought under the same Charge and Superintendence by warrants issued for that purpose ;² but no judicial records were to be brought in unless more than twenty years old ; and the records of certain departments of the Exchequer were to be excluded unless otherwise agreed. Finally, the Master of the Rolls was to have full power for cleaning, repairing, preserving, and arranging all the Public Records under this Charge and Superintendence ; for making Calendars and Indexes to the same, and for removing records for such purposes.³

It will be evident that the safety, the maintenance, and the usefulness of the Records depended wholly on the intelligent interpretation and efficient execution of the first four sections of the Act. These were not so interpreted or executed, and the result has been disastrous to the interests of historical study. The literary enterprises which once more proved an irresistible attraction to archivists who had never learnt the scientific principles of their profession could have been carried out with even greater success by trained historians. On the other hand, something more than perfunctory operations were needed to save a vast number of neglected documents from serious injury and to make them serviceable to an increasing number of researchers. It remained for another Record Commission to repeat the obvious moral of such a disingenuous and futile policy.⁴

PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRY IN 1840

The Proceedings of the Select Committee appointed in 1840 to report on the destruction and sale of Exchequer documents contain further evidence of neglect and ill-treatment of the records owing to the lack of careful supervision.

The matters under inquiry take us back to the year 1790, or thereabouts, when a large quantity of old Records from the

¹ Lord Langdale's deliberate emendation of the 'custody' of outstanding Records certainly looks as though he did not mean to be burdened with more than a nominal 'charge and superintendence' in spite of the provision made in Section IV of the Act for the proper maintenance of the records.

² See 1912 Report, Appx. (II), pp. 5, 9, 10, and Appx. (III), pp. 1-4.

³ It was clearly intended that the Master of the Rolls and his staff should be responsible for the state of all outstanding records until they had been transferred to the Public Record Office. This responsibility was evaded on various ingenious pretexts ; chiefly by means of a pedantic distinction between 'custody' and 'charge' or 'care'.

⁴ 1912 Report, p. 28 (par. 103) ; 1914 Report, pp. 83-4.

Exchequer of Receipt was deposited in one of the vaults of Somerset House. In 1816 this vault was altered and bricked up, and in connexion with this work the boxes containing the records were broken up and the contents heaped on the floor. In 1835, Devon, the archivist and historian of this department of the Exchequer, reported that the vault, apart from want of ventilation, was damp and insecure, and he recommended the removal of the records for examination. The Treasury, however, had other views on these matters, and in 1838 a contract was made with a fishmonger in Hungerford Market, whereby the latter was to remove these documents to the Controller's Office in return for the privilege of buying unwanted documents at £8 per ton.¹ It was suggested, in the course of the inquiry by the Committee of 1840, that this contract was the result of collusion between a group of antiquarian booksellers and one of the Exchequer messengers. When the removal was completed, it was found that, while two and a half tons of records had been retained, close on nine tons had been sold. The nature of this transaction was revealed by a public-spirited bookseller to the librarian of the British Museum, and the matter was brought before Parliament with the results described above.²

This exposure of Treasury methods of archive economy produced, as we shall see, no lasting effect upon the minds of a docile generation of citizens, unsupported by the power of the Press. The Committee, however, did not stop here, but went on to make further investigations. These enabled them to report that 'a very large number of records of the greatest interest, curiosity, and value, have, for a long period of years, been openly and constantly offered for sale; which must have been . . . improperly procured from different public offices'.

The above inquiry was concerned with offences committed on the eve of the Public Record Office Act, and the attitude of the Treasury revealed by these proceedings was of ill-omen for the wise administration of the Act, which largely depended on the intelligence and public spirit of that Department.

¹ This was not the first time that a fishmonger had been given possession of judicial records.

² Oral tradition associates the name of Mr. Waller, formerly a well-known antiquarian bookseller in Fleet Street, with the discovery of the records dumped in Hungerford Market.

CHAPTER XII

LATER COMMISSIONS AND COMMITTEES OF INQUIRY

Administrative Reforms of the Archives (1838-1910) — Parliamentary Inquiry on Public Offices — The State Papers Commission — Record Office Publications — The Historical Manuscripts Commission — The Committee of Inspecting Officers (1882) — Inquiries relating to Local Records — Inquiry as to Departmental Permits — The Royal Commission on Public Records (1910-18).

THE Commissions or Committees of Inquiry referred to in the last chapter were concerned with various remedial measures which were urgently called for by the state of the Public Records at large. The present chapter deals with the proceedings of later bodies, some of which are responsible for administrative measures which have not always produced the desired effect of increasing the security and usefulness of the manuscript sources of British History.

The responsibility for any such shortcomings is largely due to the form of the Public Record Office Act of 1838, which failed to provide an effectual means for the collection and custody of the Public Records, or to afford adequate facilities for their study. More than a century of Parliamentary inquiry and deliberation was needed to produce the crude and imperfect Act of 1838. Another century has nearly passed without adequate measures being taken for the reform of our central and local archives, although their condition has provided ample grounds for remedial legislation.

ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS OF THE ARCHIVES¹

Several notable events may be recorded in the history of the Archives, between the passing of the Principal Act and the appointment of the Royal Commission of 1910. We have seen that the Order in Council of 5 March 1852, provided for by Section II of the Public Record Office Act of 1838, exercised

¹ See also p. 241 sq.

a marked effect upon the extension of the Repository ; but this provision was part and parcel of the Act itself. In any case, its application was neither systematic nor intelligent.¹

The eventual remission of fees to literary students in 1858, as the result of an influential memorial in 1851, loses some of its credit when we find that fees had been imposed contrary to the spirit, if not the letter, of the Act of 1838.² That fees continued to be charged for historical researches in departmental records down to 1910 was due, however, to the characteristic attitude of the Treasury and not to the policy of the Record Office itself. Indeed, the whole question of 'public access' to the Public Records was still in an unsatisfactory position at the date of the appointment of the Royal Commission on Public Records, although a Departmental Committee, in 1908, guided by Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte, procured the removal of some of the most archaic and childish of the restrictions which had hampered several generations of historical students. On the other hand, the prohibition of the use of ink in 1887 and the requirement of a Student's ticket in 1909 were measures of precaution in keeping with approved methods of archive administration.

It is interesting to find, during the Victorian period, occasional notices of judicial and departmental archives outside the actual jurisdiction of the Master of the Rolls, and a few of these notices are associated with Commissions of Inquiry.³ Valuable information about some of these archives will be found in the Reports of the Royal Commission of 1910 ; in fact, their constitutional position and their relations with the Public Record Office have been elucidated for the first time by the Commissioners' inquiry.

¹ See 1912 Report, Appx. (II), and above, pp. 129, 140 sq.

² D.K., 13th Report, p. 29, Appx., p. 37 sq. The preamble of the Act declares that it is expedient to 'allow the free use of the said Records' as far as is consistent with their safety and with public policy. Section ix merely authorizes the Master of the Rolls to fix the amount of fees ('if any').

³ e. g. the Royal Mint (1848), the Privy Seal and Signet Offices (1848), the Pre-rogative Court (Canterbury), and other collections of Consistory Court Records dealt with by the Probate and Divorce Court Acts (1857); the General Register Office, Non-Parochial Records (1857); the Land Registry Office (1868), and the reorganization of the Courts of Justice (1868-72). Some interesting developments affecting Local Records are connected with the administration of the Municipal Corporation Acts of 1882-3 and the Local Government Acts of 1888 and 1894.

PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRY ON PUBLIC OFFICES

Many incidental notices of departmental archive economy are furnished by the Reports of the Committees of Inquiry on Public Offices issued in 1853.¹ In fact these Reports will materially assist us to realize the nature and value of the earlier records of many existing Departments.² They are also useful for the purpose of explaining the administrative system of the early Victorian period, and they throw much light on the history and vicissitudes of the several Departments.³ The work of the Commission for the publication of State Papers⁴ is chiefly associated with the period subsequent to the Act of 1838, and the well-known series of Calendars of State Papers and medieval Records were produced under the direction of the Master of the Rolls.⁵

THE STATE PAPERS COMMISSION

The history of this Commission is instructive. It was appointed in 1825 to satisfy the growing demand for the publication of the English State Papers, following the example of the French Government. The historians and men of letters interested in the former movement, being wholly ignorant of the distribution of archives, assumed that the State Papers had been already arranged by the Methodizers of the eighteenth century and their contents indexed. In pursuance of this supposition, a selection of State Papers for the reign of Henry VIII was published by the State Papers Commissioners, in eleven volumes. The dispersal of these documents in various public and private collections was at last realized, and authority to prepare Calendars was conferred by a new Commission in 1842.

It would seem that the Commissioners regarded the supervision

¹ Published in 1854 as a Parliamentary Paper. The offices in question were situated in London.

² e. g. the descriptions of the system of registration of Treasury Papers, the compilation of Treasury and Ordnance Minutes.

³ e. g. the history and records of the Copyhold, Enclosure, and Tithe Commission. The description of the Drainage Act records may be compared with that given in the Schedules of valueless records of the modern Board of Agriculture presented to Parliament (1913), pp. 397, 405.

⁴ An interesting account of the controversies between the Master of the Rolls and the State Papers Commission is given in the Report by the Deputy Keeper, dated 30 July 1853, cited below. Some valuable documents are appended.

⁵ In some cases with the concurrence or co-operation of Government Departments, e. g. India Office, Treasury, Home Office.

of the State Papers as within their terms of reference. The Keeper of the State Papers was one of the Commission, and a clerk in his office discharged the duties of Secretary. There was naturally a certain amount of rivalry between the State Paper and the Record Departments; indeed the Master of the Rolls viewed the pretensions of the Commissioners with some concern.¹ A crisis arose when the Keeper demanded the enlargement of the State Paper Office, and notified his inability to take further transfers from the departments of the Secretaries of State. This was in 1845; and the Treasury having ascertained that the Master of the Rolls was prepared to take over the earlier State Papers, entered a Minute to that effect.²

The next step was for the Treasury and the Master of the Rolls to get rid of the Commissioners of State Papers altogether. Profiting by the recommendation of a House of Commons Committee on public expenditure,³ the Treasury issued a further Minute for the consolidation of the State Paper and Record Departments on the completion of the publication in hand. The Commissioners and their friends were evidently dissatisfied with this decision; but their position was a weak one. The Order in Council provided for by the Act of 1838 was issued in March 1852, as a result of which the State Papers came within the charge and superintendence of the Master of the Rolls, and all further discussion of the matter was at an end. The State Papers Commission was revoked in 1854, when the State Paper Office became a branch Record Office, though its contents were not transferred to Chancery Lane till 1862.

RECORD OFFICE PUBLICATIONS

The collapse of the State Papers Commission enabled the Master of the Rolls to take over and remodel its publications. In addition to a new series of Calenders of State Papers, a medieval series of 'Chronicles and Memorials' was also published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls⁴, and a scholarly series of

¹ See D.K. Reports, e. g. letter of Lord Langdale to the Treasury 25 November 1845, and Report of the Deputy Keeper to the Master of the Rolls, 30 July 1853.

² 9 September 1845.

³ 27 July 1848.

⁴ The State Papers in question are preserved in English and Welsh archives only; the Chronicles also concern Scotland and Ireland.

medieval and post-medieval Calendars has been added since 1892 by Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte. These departmental undertakings will compare favourably with the discredited enterprises of the Record Commission of 1800-37; but the value of expert supervision of historical scholars has been demonstrated in other countries and was recommended by the Royal Commission of 1910.¹ In another connexion, however, the experiment had been made since 1869, with less satisfactory results.

THE HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION

As early as 1859 an important memorial was presented to the Government urging the appointment of a Royal Commission to rescue neglected historical papers from oblivion, or even from decay; but nothing was done in the matter till 1869, when Commissioners were appointed.² Their warrant represents that whereas Manuscripts and Papers in the possession of institutions or private families are liable to loss or injury, and the owners are apparently willing to give access to the same and to allow their contents to be published (provided that personal allusions and documents relating to title shall not be included without their consent) it is therefore desirable to locate all such collections and to describe such of their contents as may be of historical value; and Commissioners are hereby appointed to inquire as to the places of deposit of such manuscripts or for any other purpose herein mentioned; with powers to invoke the assistance of owners of manuscripts, with the assurance that only documents relating to public affairs will be published without permission. The Commissioners were also instructed, with the consent of the owners, to make abstracts or catalogues of the manuscripts, and a report of their proceedings was to be presented by a quorum.

It will be evident that it was the desire of the petitioners and the intention of the Royal Commission to 'locate' the widely scattered collections of historical manuscripts within the British

¹ Cf. Sir C. H. Firth in *Transactions Roy. Hist. Soc.* (*loc. cit.*), and 1912 Report, pp. 46-7.

² See the Paper by Mr. R. A. Roberts on the history of the Commission in *Transactions Roy. Hist. Soc.*, 3rd Ser., vol. iv, pp. 63 sq., and his monograph on the same subject in the series of 'Helps for Students of History' (S.P.C.K.). A paper by the same author (formerly Secretary to the Commission and now one of the Commissioners) was read before the International Historical Congress at Brussels in April 1923 dealing with the latest developments of the subject.

Isles, and to catalogue or describe the same briefly, with a view to making the originals accessible to students. In course of time, however, the Commission was practically absorbed by the Public Record Office and was conducted in accordance with the system of publication adopted by that Department. This system was inherited from the Record Commission of 1800-37, and was based upon the principle of publishing selected texts rather than a Catalogue or Summary List indicating the distribution and relationship of documents of historical or literary value.

The truth is that few of the older Victorian record keepers had any gift for the discovery or description of manuscripts or any interest therein, simply because they had not learnt the rudiments of the new science of archives as expounded and practised abroad. Thus the method pursued by the Historical Manuscripts Commission in respect of the discovery and description of documents can scarcely be commended; though its actual achievements may have earned our warmest gratitude. The fact remains that the Commissioners, or their inspectors, failed to make the best use of the opportunity given to them by Royal Warrant and by ample grants of public money. If the matter had been properly handled, every collection of potential historical interest outside the central archives of the State might have been located and described in a complete but summary list which would have been of inestimable value to historical students in all countries. This survey could have been accomplished long ago and at a comparatively trifling cost, less than half the expenditure of the successive Commissions to date.¹ Thereupon steps might have been taken to expand the summary lists, here and there, in the form of a Calendar, according to the immediate requirements of students. The list itself might have been also utilized as a register of British manuscripts by the issue of bulletins showing the redistribution of the manuscripts from time to time; for as the owners had agreed to make their collections accessible to students, and as they had received the distinction and benefit of a printed catalogue, prepared at the expense of the nation, their co-operation might have been reasonably required.

¹ It is not surprising that for lack of such a list the assistance of a Departmental Committee was invoked in 1899 for the description of Public Local Records.

For want of this precaution the Commissioners' Reports have ceased to be of permanent utility, owing to the inaccessibility or the dispersal of a large portion of the collections therein described.¹ As matters stand we have neither a complete list nor a complete Calendar, while a considerable sum of money and still more precious time and learning have been expended in revising the earlier Calendars.

This scholarly method of production, which provides an effectual version of the original documents, is not only expensive to the State, but is also out of proportion to the student's perspective of historical sources.² It is, indeed, the old story of the Calendars of State Papers doomed by this diffuse method to a leisurely progress which leaves large tracts of later History unsurveyed and uncharted. In these circumstances we can at last appreciate the value of the uniform and practical series of *Guides* to the materials for American history in European archives, published by the Carnegie Institution, which has been of such great service to students of every nation in their researches.³

THE 'COMMITTEE OF INSPECTING OFFICERS'

The Public Record Office Act of 1877, authorizing the disposal of Public Records not of sufficient value to justify their preservation in the Public Record Office, purports to amend the principal Act of 1838 in that particular. In fact, however, this was originally an administrative device to legalize the destruction of Departmental Records for which the Public Record Office could not find space, or the Treasury money to cover the cost of housing and arrangement.

The Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1836 had

¹ Failing such voluntary notification, the compulsory notification of all documents offered for sale could have been insisted on.

² Apart from their lack of proportion these voluminous Reports are so ill-arranged that reference to them is difficult without special binding or an elaborate key. Such a drawback is almost tragic in view of the exceptional merit of the letterpress accompanied by prefaces and indexes that are models of their kind.

³ There have been signs that the able administration of the Commission in more recent years may decide to shake off the cumbrous methods inherited from a former régime and revert to the original purposes of the Commission. In particular a scheme for the identification and description of private collections of historical documents in every county is under consideration, and information or advice are freely given to owners who apply to the Secretary at the Public Record Office. In the meantime a subject Index is badly needed to supplement the elaborate *Index locorum* provided some years ago.

already recommended the destruction of valueless documents¹ and this suggestion was adopted in the Bill of 1837,² which was, however, dropped, and no authority for this purpose is contained in the Act of 1838.

There are good grounds for the belief that, hitherto, the destruction of official documents had been repugnant to legal and official traditions and interests; but this uncompromising attitude was not yet affected by the problem of storage. That problem had now become acute, owing to the requirements of the Act of 1838, which the Treasury had no ready means of satisfying. In one direction the Treasury was beginning to urge recourse to the expedient of destroying superfluous records to avoid the expense of housing them, and in another the newly reorganized Departments of State were treating the old records handed down by their predecessors with contemptuous indifference.

In 1846 the ancient records of the Army Medical Board were deliberately destroyed, an equal loss to Arts and Science. In 1848 the Audit Office proposed the destruction of its records *en masse*. In 1853 Inland Revenue records, and in 1856 War Office records, were destroyed, with the approval of the Master of the Rolls. In 1858 the Treasury, noting that the difficulty of accommodation had been increased by the requirements of the Crimean War, took the lead in definitely organizing a more drastic method of disposal. By Treasury Minute of 8 January 1859 a departmental Committee was set up, consisting of three officials, representing the Treasury, the Public Record Office, and the Departments concerned, with a view to the destruction of superfluous documents.³ This Committee appears to have continued to sit till 1865, and was responsible for the destruction of several hundred tons of War Office, Admiralty, and Treasury⁴ records. Specimens of the records to be preserved should have been kept; but apparently these were destroyed by a later official Committee unaware of their true nature and origin. A large proportion of the records preserved by the Departmental

¹ p. xlii.

² Sect. xiii. Power was to be given to the Keeper-General for this purpose, by warrants issued by the Lord Chancellor, the Master of the Rolls, the Chief Justices, and the Chief Baron of the Exchequer. It has been mentioned that this innovation was strongly recommended by the Parliamentary Committee of 1836.

³ D.K., 21st Report, p. xvii.

⁴ D.K., 21-6 Reports, *s.v.*

Committee of 1859-65, as valuable, have also been condemned in later times, as valueless.¹

As years went by, and the full scope and real significance of English history dawned upon the pedants of the old Rolls House, some uneasiness seems to have been felt both as to the credibility of the official assumption that these records were the private property of the Departments,² and also as to the legality of their destruction by a Treasury Minute dispensing with the authority of an Act of Parliament. Steps were accordingly taken to introduce legislation for this purpose in circumstances which are of interest owing to the intervention of a strong Committee of the House of Lords. Some of its members scented danger to the public interests, and the Bill was only saved by the amazing assurance of the official witnesses, who were possibly ignorant of the constitutional position.³

In the course of these proceedings a noble Lord propounded a new solution of the space problem, by means of the official sale of all superfluous records. This was resisted by the Record Officers who, frankly, were not taking any risks in this matter. In their view 'stone-dead hath no fellow', and we are left to wonder, not that the proposal was rejected, but that the historical treasures of the State should have been estimated in terms of pounds, shillings, and pence.⁴

The procedure and proceedings of the Statutory Committee set up in 1882 for the purpose of administering the Act of 1877⁵ have been described and criticized in the Reports of the Royal Commission of 1910, which are referred to below. It is particularly noticeable that the Act does not insist upon the destruction of records not acceptable to the Record Officers, and even

¹ 1912 and 1914 Reports of Public Records Commission and Appendices *sub titulo*.

² The secret of the official action in this matter was divulged by Sir G. Jessel in his evidence before the Lords' Committee of 1877 (Q. 264), from which we learn, for the first time, that, regarding such action as illegal, he had stopped destruction of records that had been sanctioned by his predecessors.

³ The Bill was, however, amended. In particular an attempt to call in the local records of Clerks of the Peace was defeated, though this addition to the archives would have counterbalanced any gain of space from the disposal of superfluous public records.

⁴ The date from which superfluous records might be disposed of under the Act of 1877 was altered from 1715 to 1660 by an amending Act of 1898. This provision was possibly made for the purpose of dealing more effectually with the Departmental Records which had found a refuge in the old houses in Chancery Lane which were pulled down in connexion with building the western block of the Public Record Office.

⁵ It is now known officially as the 'Committee of Inspecting Officers'.

contemplates the desirability of their preservation elsewhere. Apparently the authorities were in favour of destruction, for no alternative is contained in the Rules which remained in force till 1890, when the practice of presentation to a Public Library was at last recognized, though not consistently adopted till 1912.

There can be little doubt that official authority for the decentralization of duplicate or valueless records was urgently needed as an amendment of the Principal Act ;¹ but the destruction of such records is a measure which entails a serious responsibility, and the process of selection should only be carried out by specially qualified archivists, with the assistance of historical experts, and after a wide and careful study of the sources involved.

INQUIRIES RELATING TO LOCAL RECORDS

Some interesting developments connected with the custody of Local Records emerged from the Municipal Corporations Committee's Report (1880), and have acquired notoriety through the Local Government Acts of 1888 and 1894 ;² but the Copyhold Acts of 1894 and 1911³ were not responsible for any improvement in the traditional procedure employed since 1838 for the transmission of Public Records to the custody or charge of the Master of the Rolls. The interest of these measures lies in the extension of the application of the Principal Act to documents of a public nature, a principle which had been recognized with advantage in the case of the Scottish and Irish archives.

The Report of the departmental Local Records Committee is distinguished from all the previous reports on British archives by its scholarly treatment of the subject. The nature and use of Local Records are defined and described in precise and scientific terms, and their relations with the Public Records in central custody are briefly indicated.

In this valuable compilation all Local Records are grouped in a definite order ; and, on the whole, the classification adopted

¹ It should be mentioned that the Lords' Committee showed some uneasiness on the subject of another section of the Act of 1877 which was intended to bring the vast and neglected collection of Chancery Masters' Documents within the scope of that Act. Fortunately this intention was not carried out owing to a circumstance which is referred to elsewhere.

² Above, p 187.

³ See *Repertory*, pp. 108, 117-18 ; Sections xvii (7), (8), (9), lvi, and lvii of the Act of 1894 are especially interesting.

appears to be both comprehensive and intelligent, though the details of each class should have been set out on the lines of the 'Classified List of Local Records of a Public Nature' prepared for the use of the Royal Commission on Public Records of 1910.¹ The object of that List was to enable the Commission to ascertain what records actually existed in any given locality and custody. The Secretary had ascertained from experience that this method of investigation was essential owing to the confused and divided conditions of local custody and the want of exact knowledge on the part of the custodians as to the nature of the records in their custody.

The historical Introduction to the Report of the Local Records Committee is supplemented by some instructive Appendices; but the procedure on which the Committee chiefly relied was the issue of an elaborate circular of inquiry addressed to the custodians of the more important classes of public local records. This circular was duly issued, and any returns that came to hand were carefully tabulated, but without regard to the fact that some collections had been omitted from the circular of inquiry or that numerous custodians had neglected to make the desired return. Moreover, in order to ascertain the extent of the materials available to students in the several collections, these statistics must be compared with the details of local archives received by the Committee, but not printed in full.

There is much to be said for this compression, both on the score of economy and convenience of reference. On the other hand, if the original returns were not printed they would be liable to be destroyed by later paper keepers. Apart from this drawback, the want of a scientific method of investigation has greatly diminished the value of these returns. The Committee, in fact, did not make use of an analytical method of inquiry, and thus several important types were overlooked, while others are not distinguished in the returns made by pluralist custodians. For example, there are no particulars of judicial and statutory registries, of palatinate records, of the records of County Courts, Coroners' Courts, or of the official documents preserved in the local branches or depots of several Public Departments. Again,

¹ 1919 Report, Appx. (II), p. 55. Another list is given in *Repertory*, pp. 163 and 255.

the large and important class of records in the custody of Statutory Authorities or Trusts is not sufficiently elucidated either in the Report or its Appendices.

The remaining classes of County, Municipal, Parochial, and Ecclesiastical records are more clearly defined and enumerated ; but the local conditions under which the documents are preserved are such that many pitfalls await the student who dispenses with a careful analysis of these archives. Thus some distinctive collections such as those of Archdeacons, Bishops, and Deans and Chapters are sometimes intermixed, and it might easily be assumed that particular classes of records do not exist in certain localities because they have been omitted from the Returns.

This Committee was fortunate in receiving a large number of communications from local antiquaries and historians, and a few specimens of these and other communications are printed in Appendices.

The Recommendations made by the Committee were both valuable and practicable ; for the outlay involved in their execution by the State, or by local authorities, would not have been excessive. At the same time, the passive attitude of the Committee and the permissive character of its recommendations were not likely to stir the public conscience. A Local Records Bill was introduced ; but it did not succeed in attracting attention. Matters therefore remained as they were until the consideration of the subject was referred to the Royal Commission of 1910, which dealt with the state of Local Records in its Third Report, until its proceedings were interrupted by the War.¹

INQUIRY AS TO DEPARTMENTAL PERMITS

In 1908 a long continued grievance of historical students was ameliorated as a result of the unanimous Report of an influential Departmental Committee which was able to collect information of considerable interest for the history of the archives. The whole of this Report was reprinted by the Royal Commission of 1910 with the permission of the Home Office.²

¹ See above, p. 43 sq. and p. 109 sq. for a description of the activities of the conference on Local War Records in 1920 ; for the results of this conference see also Appx. E.

² 1912 Report, Appx. (II), pp. 62-74. Further details will be found *ibid.*, pp. 56-62.

THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON PUBLIC RECORDS

It is somewhat remarkable that no inquiry should have been held as to the working of the Record Office Act of 1838 until the appointment of the Royal Commission in 1910; and it will be evident from the findings of the Commission that such an inquiry was overdue. For some years past the condition of the Public Records had given rise to discontent in various quarters. The value of the records as historical sources was duly appreciated, and a few earnest scholars desired a fuller recognition of historical interests in connexion with the organization of the official publications. They desired also to secure a professional training for record officers, in accordance with Continental methods, and more ample facilities for students.

Possibly these historical scholars would have found means for making their requirements known; but an inquiry was forced by the intervention of other malcontents.¹ Thus it came about that a case for an inquiry having been admitted by the Government, a Royal Commission was appointed in October 1910. The restriction of the inquiry to the public records of England and Wales indicates that Scottish and Irish historians had taken no part in the movement.

The procedure of a Royal Commission in the present day is well known to those who have any personal experience of public affairs; but it is not always taken into account by those who regard such Reports as purely literary documents. The truth of the matter is that the report of a Commission of Inquiry into the administration of any public institution can never hope to be an ideal production; for though zeal and energy are usually displayed, an adequate knowledge of the subject of inquiry cannot always be ensured. Again, the terms of reference may be sufficiently wide and yet they may be interpreted in a timid or pedantic fashion. Finally, the method of investigation may be purely conventional and perfunctory. Even when that method is

¹ There can be little doubt that historians and antiquaries interested in the better custody and description of Local Records, and of the Welsh Records removed to London in 1854-5, were especially active in this matter. In connexion with the Public Records, the requirements of Shakespearian, American, and Diplomatic students had for some time past been much in evidence. It is needless to say that none of these ideals implied any reflection on the administration of the Record Office itself.

intelligent and thorough, various circumstances may make it difficult to ascertain the real facts of the case.

It is also necessary to take into account the exceptional difficulties that may underlie an inquiry of this nature in the present day. During the previous inquiries held in 1800 and 1836, the investigation of the administration of the Public Records was remarkably complete and effective ; but, in both cases, the demand for reforms came from within the administrative circle. Guided in turn by the intimate knowledge of the true state of affairs possessed by their official advisers, and backed by wide and almost judicial powers, the Parliamentary Committees of 1800 and 1836 were able to discover many defects in the system of record-keeping then in force. But even against such odds as these the officials in charge put up a stout defence, and the issue was frequently obscured by countercharges and recriminations.

Between these conditions and those which existed at the date of the appointment of the Royal Commission in 1910, an important difference must be noted. A new official Record service had been created by the Act of 1838, and in course of time it had obtained all the powers and privileges of a Government department, with the further prestige of a learned institution. Even in the present day, the Public Record Office Act is a sacrosanct ordinance, and the Master of the Rolls is still the *numen divinum*, though his fane has been removed and his voice is heard no more in learned exhortation.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the mere existence of a Public Record Office should have been regarded as a subject for national congratulation and its administration as above criticism. Again, the Record Office, like some other literary institutions, serves as a sort of club for many of its regular readers. Even to the initiated a record is still to some extent a privileged revelation which must be accepted thankfully and without question. It has been remarked that the devout frequenter of learned institutions usually resents criticism of the existing administration, partly from a feeling of scholarly fellowship with the officials, and partly from obvious motives of self-interest.

This sense of loyalty on the part of the public, coupled with the *esprit de corps* of the department itself, must make the task

of inquiry into the management of any public institution one of peculiar difficulty. In the first place, the evidence taken by the Commission will be conflicting. Then, as we have seen, the investigations of the Commissioners will be limited in respect of the facilities immediately available for information which must be obtained from official sources. Moreover, as soon as it is known that an inquiry is on foot, efforts may be made to anticipate the recommendations of the Commission by internal reforms. Therefore, unless the inquiry is conducted with knowledge, tact, and resolution, the actual results may be quite inconclusive. The recommendations of the Commission may even be discredited, and in any case will be of little permanent value.

On the whole, the evidence of the official witnesses and the information supplied to the Public Records Commission of 1910 from official sources tell us comparatively little about the actual condition of the records, and if the Recommendations of the Commission had been based on those conclusions, they would have been commonplace indeed. Perhaps the official version of the matter was a very natural one, and it was unquestionably given in good faith. The Commissioners were assured that all that was possible had been done to account for and to safeguard the records which were not transferred to the custody of the Master of the Rolls by the Act of 1838. They were also assured that, with a few unimportant exceptions, the records transferred since that date had been arranged and catalogued, and that, before the end of the year 1912, lists of all the departmental records would have been printed.

The Commissioners, however, took some independent evidence, and they made inquiries on their own account. The results of this method of procedure are striking, for the complacent testimony of departmental witnesses is frequently ignored in the Report itself and is completely refuted by documents printed in the Appendix. Another excellent result of these systematic investigations is that there were no 'Minority Reports'; not even one dissentient or explanatory 'Note'. The net that politicians love to spread for inquisitive reformers had been carefully marked by the Commissioners.

As a result of these investigations the latter were moved to

make some Recommendations of a rather drastic nature with regard to the past and present state of the Public Records.

The Reports of the Commission were prepared upon a definite plan, which is naturally based on the terms of reference contained in the Royal Warrant of appointment.¹ Almost from the first the Commissioners contemplated the issue of three Reports, dealing, respectively, with the public records of England and Wales in the Public Record Office, the departmental records which might still be found in the custody of Courts of Justice and Public Offices, and the local records of a public nature in England and Wales. The exclusion of both Scotland and Ireland from the scope of this inquiry was opposed to earlier precedents, though in keeping with the new theories of national self-determination. It may be noted that Wales was represented by three of the nine Commissioners and that Monmouth is included in the Principality for the purpose of this inquiry.

These Reports were published as a uniform series of tripartite volumes, one for each Report; Part I of the volume containing a concise 'Report' and Part II an Appendix of illustrative documents, with a further Appendix (Part III) recording the evidence and documents put in by witnesses. There is also a concise Bibliography and an extensive Index compiled by a record expert.² The dates of publication (September 1912 and August 1914) indicate that the preparation of the First and Second Reports of the Commission occupied a period of two years in each case. The Third and final Report was dated June 1916 in the original draft.³ As the publication of this Report was

¹ 11 Oct. 1910. The Commission first sat in December 1910.

² It should be observed, however, that the Bibliography refers only to works used by the Commissioners, and that, for the sake of economy, many titles and cross-references set forth in the Index to the First Report are not repeated in the Index to the Second and Third Reports. Owing to the suspension of the Commission a Bibliography was not included in its Third Report.

³ The investigations of the Commissioners were unavoidably hampered and curtailed by the existence of a state of war, apart from enforced removal from official quarters, a reduced staff, and other official economies. In fact, but for the generous hospitality of the Royal Historical Society and the determination of the Commissioners to carry through a task which appeared to them of urgent national importance, the Third Report of the Commission dealing with Local and War Records would have remained unwritten. As it is, this Report is relatively incomplete by comparison with the two preceding Reports on the pre-War Public Records in central archives. In this connexion it may be of interest to notice that the Parliamentary Estimates show that the total cost of the Commission was quite trifling by comparison with that of most of the Parliamentary inquiries of recent times.

suspended for financial reasons an opportunity was given for the addition of an important section dealing with the 'Departmental Records Relating to the War', a subject of much concern to archivists and historical students alike. This Report was signed in April 1918. Its presentation was withheld for more than a year, and it was issued in November 1919.

The actual contents of the Reports are also arranged upon a common plan, the several sections (or 'Parts', as official printers style them) being intended to cover the various methods of investigation, as well as to present an intelligent classification of the archives under consideration. The subject-matter of each Report is arranged as follows :

- (1) Explanation of the procedure adopted by the Commission.
- (2) The institutional history of the various archives.
- (3) Reports on the contents and general condition of the same.
- (4) The distribution and transfer of the records.
- (5) The disposal of certain records by official destruction or otherwise.
- (6) The public use of the records.
- (7) Record publications.
- (8) Archive establishments and training.
- (9) Special subjects of inquiry.¹
- (10) Conclusions and Recommendations of the Commission.

Under these headings the Commissioners have dealt with all the existing collections of Public Records, central or local. Each section of their Reports is also supplemented by a corresponding Appendix,² printed in Part II of each volume. Many of the documents printed here, especially those signed by Sir Charles Firth, are of permanent value.³

A peculiarity of the Reports of this Commission is the presentment of its Conclusions and Recommendations in such a form as

¹ e. g. Palatinate, Welsh, and Foreign Archives ; Departmental Records relating to the War ; and the Government of the Public Record Office. A reference to the proceedings of the Commissioners in connexion with the disposal of the War Records will be found in an earlier chapter (p. 39 sq.) ; cf. also below, p. 243 sq.

² In the First Report there is no Appendix to Part I (Procedure).

³ The titles of individual 'documents' of historical interest are too numerous to be mentioned here. In the Second Report alone 267 'documents' are printed in the Appendix, including several circulars and replies from the Courts of Justice and Government Offices.

to invite the individual attention of the Government departments concerned. They are also repeated in successive Reports, and the practical results obtained have been noted from time to time.¹

In justice to the institutions that were the subject of this inquiry it may be observed that the most casual inspection would have revealed imperfections in a system which had few features in common with the scientific administration of the Continental repositories; and it should be remembered that the Commissioners had made profitable visits to the archives of France, Belgium, and Holland. We can gather from the general tone of their Report, that the comparison between the English and foreign methods was unfavourable to the former. This is especially apparent in respect of various devices for the custody and production of records, their arrangement and classification, and the compilation of summary lists printed for convenience of reference.

There is no reason to suppose that the Commissioners were prejudiced in favour of Continental methods of record-keeping; but undoubtedly they were anxious to suggest improvements for the purpose of bringing the administration of the Public Record Office into line with the efficient organization of the State archives abroad. With this intention they were unanimously of opinion that a change in the government of the Public Record Office is essential. The titular headship of the Master of the Rolls must be replaced by the control of a permanent Commission, with a Board of Advice for record publications. At the same time the Deputy Keeper should take the title and position of Director and Secretary.

The Commission dealt very fully with the vexed question of the appointment and training of record officers. Among other interesting information a table showing the estimated cost of the departmental establishments is printed in an Appendix to its Second Report. The figures given here are amazing, even if we make a liberal allowance for the difficulty experienced by the Departments in distinguishing between clerical and record work. We find that the 'admitted cost of the record establishments

¹ An excellent summary of the Recommendations of the Commission has been contributed by Mr. H. R. Tedder, who was one of the Commissioners, to the *Library Association Record* (xiv, pp. 519-28, and xvii, pp. 185-99), and the *Repertory of British Records* (Roy. Hist. Soc.) (pp. xxxiv-xliii).

outside the Public Record Office ' amounted, in 1912, to a sum of close on £120,000, with a total staff employed of 901 persons of all ranks. In comparison with these figures it may be noted that the Public Record Office, undertaking the main record work of the State, cost £22,000 and employed 108 persons.

Here, then, was the opportunity of the Record Commissioners to support their scheme for the reform of the departmental record system by an *argumentum ad hominem*, and they made the most of the opportunity. If we balance omissions or dilutions in the official returns supplied to the Commission against any over-statements in its own printed estimates, the latter will not be far from the mark. On this assumption, an inordinate expenditure has been incurred upon ' outlying ' records, the existence of which will be heard of by many of us for the first time. It is also apparent that the professional value of these record services is inferior to that supplied, at far less cost, by the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records and his staff. Here and there, it is true, we find an expert archivist available, and some attempt made to classify and describe the older records and to make them accessible to students. Such cases, however, are exceptional.

The Second Report of the Commission is specially concerned with the official documents still in the immediate custody of the Courts of Justice and Public Departments. Some of these papers are still in use and will be transferred, as they mature, to the great repository in Fetter Lane where the earlier volumes of the series are already deposited. The official archivists do not seem to have recognized the existence of a tithe of this vast mass of records still remaining in the custody of the courts and departments. Some of these custodians were not always willing, or able, to give the information required by the Commissioners. Few of them appear to have regarded the safe custody of their documents as a matter of any consequence, or to have been conscious of the important distinction, so well laid down by Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte, between the making and the keeping of records. Indeed, the lack of knowledge or interest displayed by several of the witnesses who represented their departments before the Commission is very noticeable. ' We have observed with regret,' write the Commissioners, ' that of all the custodians

of records to whom we have applied for information, the least competent to satisfy our inquiries have been found among Your Majesty's immediate servants.¹

The Commissioners do not assume that all these 'outlying records' are of permanent historical value. Most of the modern judicial records must be of purely professional interest, although the great registries in Somerset House and elsewhere deserved the close attention that they have received. Again, it might be agreed that the records of the public departments would be, in many cases, of an ephemeral nature. Not so the naval and military records and others, relating to direct and indirect taxation. They were, for the most part, newly discovered by the Commission and, but for its exertions, they would not perhaps have been described in this generation.

The Commissioners propounded several alternative plans for the housing of the Departmental Records; but these recommendations are somewhat ineffective. Their general effect appears to be in favour of an immediate extension of the Public Record Office, with an additional repository for recent Departmental Records. Probably such an extension may be eventually necessary; but the Commissioners do not appear to have appreciated the true causes or the actual extent of the congestion of the existing Record repositories. The question of accommodation for records is certainly one of importance and possibly of urgency; but it may be very differently regarded by officials and by public economists. In this matter foreign archivists have cut their coats according to their cloth.

While criticizing earlier methods of disposal the Commissioners resolutely supported the Record Officers in their delicate and difficult task of disposing of superfluous records under the provisions of the Public Record Office Acts of 1877 and 1898. They were, perhaps, less helpful in devising means for checking another and a growing source of national loss, the appropriation and sale of Public Records. Unfortunately these official documents are at the disposal of Ministers of State and may be retained inadvertently in private custody. In such cases it seems that there is nothing to prevent their immediate custodians from

¹ This observation applies to the departments of the Royal Household in London.

publishing sensational revelations of State affairs; nothing to prevent the descendants of earlier custodians from offering Public Records, in their possession, for sale.¹ It is common knowledge that large collections of important State Papers, now missing from their places in the official series, have recently been sold, chiefly to foreign purchasers, for fabulous sums. At the same time it is difficult to suggest a remedy for this abuse. A process of resumption might, as Mr. John Fortescue suggested to the Commissioners, lead to the concealment or destruction of valuable papers. Moreover, such a policy would seriously impede the operations of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, and it would paralyse the purchasing powers of the British Museum and other native libraries. Here there seems to be scope for the deliberations of a departmental committee, for public opinion certainly needs to be further educated in this matter, and it is not surprising that the Commissioners left these delicate problems undetermined.

The researches of the Commissioners for the purpose of elucidating the history and relationships of the national archives, their active labours in locating and inspecting stray collections, and the conclusions to which they have come in respect of the custody, disposal, and description of the records, will doubtless pave the way for many administrative reforms. We learn from the Second Report of the Commission that certain recommendations made in its First Report have been already carried out by the Record Office itself, the Treasury, the Office of Works, and the Stationery Office, while other Departments have probably followed suit. It is, of course, possible that this process of departmental reformation may be continued; but although the worst defects of the existing system of record-keeping may thus be remedied, the causes of those defects will still remain, and these will now be aggravated by the unsolved problems of the care and disposal of the records of the World War.

¹ In this connexion importance should certainly be attached to the traditional view of the Public Record Office in favour of a uniform custody of official documents, from first to last. Under a methodical system of transmission this devolution would not cause unreasonable delay in the production of the more recent State Papers to students in the central archives, while it would effectually prevent the abstraction or unauthorized use of current papers which has become a grave abuse of official privileges in our own time.

Meanwhile the Reports of the Commission of 1910-18 deserve the careful attention of all who are concerned with the study of our national institutions ; for the history of our Public Records, their safe custody, arrangement, and description, their systematic transfer to appointed repositories, the considered disposal of superfluous documents, and the provision of facilities for their public use are matters of real concern to historical students.

It is perhaps scarcely necessary to suggest the existence of a bond of fellowship between the custodians and the students of records ; but the latter should bear the fact in mind when they peruse the Reports of the Commission. The Commissioners showed much sympathy with the requirements of historical students in whose interests they found it necessary, at times, to criticize the official methods of the archivists. As a result, the First Report of the Commission was followed by a lively passage of arms which, to some people, will doubtless form a pleasant interlude in the study of archivistic literature.¹

It is well known that the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records published a severe criticism of the conclusions of the Commissioners, more particularly in respect of the state of the Welsh Records. The Commissioners, however, were content to prepare a categorical refutation of these animadversions which they communicated to the Home Office and to the Master of the Rolls. The official reasons which influenced the decision of the Commissioners in declining a public controversy were stated in a letter from the Chairman, published in *The Times* of 21 May 1913.² A reason, not stated in that letter, may perhaps be found in the consistent regard shown by the Commissioners for the true interests of the Deputy Keeper and his staff ; but all this was before the War, and in the end there was peace and a serviceable alliance between the Record Officers and the Record Commissioners.

It is perhaps permissible to touch on the psychology of the

¹ D.K. 74th Report (1913), pp. 12-25.

² In January 1913 the Deputy Keeper had written to the Commission requiring the withdrawal of certain statements respecting the administration of the Public Record Office. To this the Chairman replied (on 22 February 1913) that the Commission had already decided not to engage in public controversies. Thereupon the Deputy Keeper published his counterblast. The text of the Commissioners' vindication of their Report is presumably filed among the records of the Departments to which it was communicated.

relations between these learned bodies, when after an adventurous experience of eight years, one is able to interpret certain passages in these Reports which might easily be misapprehended by the uninitiated reader. At the same time it will be obvious that the above Recommendations, like others intended to remedy public grievances, are scarcely likely to prove entirely acceptable to all the interests concerned, though it may be thought that they contain the elements of future agreement on all material points of record policy. Probably most people would agree with a large majority of the findings of the Commission. Those in disagreement would naturally include the officials personally concerned, either as the responsible custodians, or as administrators unqualified to deal with the problem of a reorganization of the existing establishments of the archives. On the other hand, there are a few conclusions and recommendations which, though obviously sound and logical, are not likely to be generally approved, in deference to old traditions or vested interests.

However this may be, these Reports will supply much material for serious reflection. The callous neglect and wanton destruction of Public Records which might be serviceable to the State as well as material for the national history may serve as a useful reminder that there is a practical side to the study of history as of other branches of science or art.

We are indebted to the Royal Commission for the only complete or reliable information as to the state of the Public Records that has been published since 1837, and it is certainly to be regretted that the Commissioners were unable to complete their appointed task owing to the exigencies of the War. They handled the subject with ability, courage, and discretion, and the conclusions presented by them have not been seriously controverted. Some time must necessarily elapse before the reforms which they have recommended can bear full fruit, by bringing archivists into closer touch with historians as well as into line with the scientific methods that prevail abroad. If we are wise, we shall begin to learn all that can be known about the archives while they are still with us: 'to-morrow' may be, once more, too late.

The practical results obtained from this inquiry may not be very tangible; but at least its educative effect is in evidence.

The Reports of the Commission will not merely survive among the classics of archivistic literature; they are already recognized as indispensable guides to many unexplored sources of British History, including those for the economic and social history of the World War. An immediate result of the Commissioners' provisional Report on the War Records in 1918 was the appointment by the Royal Historical Society of a Standing Records Committee. A further development may be found in the Memorial presented to the Government by a large number of distinguished scholars urging that effect might be given to the recommendations of the Commission. The text of this Memorial appeared in *The Times* of 30 June 1920. Apart from ephemeral notices in the Press, the Reports of the Commission have inspired a number of critical essays of permanent value, and they have apparently organized a national movement which bids fair to bring the reforms of 1838 to their full accomplishment. Even the great Charter of Liberties was barely confirmed within a century of its issue.

CHAPTER XIII

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE REORGANIZATION OF THE ARCHIVES

Defects in the Early Custody of the Archives — Improvements effected by Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte — Inherent Defects of our Archive Administration — The Training of Archivists — Archive Publications — Archive Missions — Need of Administrative Reforms — Recommendations for the Reorganization of the Archives — Methods and Prospects of Reform.

FROM the studies of the growth and decay of the British Archives set forth in the preceding pages it will be evident that a considerable proportion of the literature of the subject cannot make pleasant reading to those who are at all times jealous of the national credit. The documentary treasures of which we are justly proud are, after all, the fortunate survivors of a great *débâcle*. We may be justified in believing that the records preserved to us form the more important portion of the entire series ; but even the famous Chancery enrolments are not complete. The total loss that we have suffered in respect of original instruments and detached documents can perhaps scarcely be estimated ; and apparently no serious attempt has ever been made to calculate the extent of the deficit in individual series.¹

DEFECTS IN THE EARLY CUSTODY OF THE ARCHIVES

The almost incredible recital of these misdoings may be perused in the Reports of Parliamentary Committees during the eighteenth century, and the charges have been repeated in other quarters. Judicial records and State Papers have been removed from official custody with impunity, while the records of local Courts of Justice have been abandoned to an inadequate custody, and a large proportion of these records has long since perished. Besides the outstanding Public Records, there are many others that would be regarded abroad as ‘ Departmental ’ or ‘ Communal ’ archives, and the fate of these is sufficiently indicated by the report of a Treasury Committee in 1901.

¹ See p. 46 sq.

We have seen that the ill-treatment of the Public Records was unchecked down to the close of the eighteenth century. Their primitive but not insecure custody in royal palaces or churches had been exchanged, during that century, for emergency quarters in numerous defective repositories. Here the ravages of hungry vermin and the greed of ill-paid officials competed for their destruction, and here, moreover, they were almost as inaccessible as in the days when lions roared and arms clashed within the Tower, and when mailed watchmen stood on guard outside the Royal Treasury.

The serious depletion of the official archives has been largely due to grave defects in their administration. The pre-Victorian statesmen who interested themselves in the safe custody and description of the Public Records recognized the necessity for a complete reform of the system then existing, and they saw to it that reforms were duly carried out; but, though the Public Record Office Act was passed in 1838, no repository was provided by the Treasury for nearly twenty years. By that time the building was incapable of containing the records which had been brought together. The residue continued to be stored in attics, cellars, or outhouses, which often had the significance of a 'condemned cell'.

These facts are clearly established by the official reports of the Record Office and of the latest Record Commission; but their significance has been scarcely realized. They show that the departments were indifferent as to the disposal of their records, and that the nature and value of these records were not fully appreciated by the officers of the Master of the Rolls, who had no professional interest in the care of archives. Without traditions and training, they were chiefly occupied in producing stereotyped office copies and perfunctory inventories. The Rolls House became the editorial office of more than one series of costly publications, before the records had been properly arranged or described.¹ In fact, the discredited methods of the old Record

¹ Historical manuscripts were rarely edited by record officers, but were assigned by the Deputy Keeper to various unofficial scholars. This was a departure from the practice of the Record Commission and, on the whole, a wise one. An archivist can be more usefully employed in arranging and describing documents than in transcribing and editing them.

Commission were resumed on a more ambitious scale, and thousands of unsorted records were allowed to fade and rot, in spite of the explicit directions of the Act of 1838, and heedless of the example of the skilful and assiduous archivists of other countries.

IMPROVEMENTS EFFECTED BY SIR HENRY MAXWELL LYTE

In his First Report, presented in the year after the passing of the Public Record Office Act of 1838, the then Deputy Keeper, Sir Francis Palgrave, describes his official premises as consisting of certain chambers in the old Rolls House, supplemented by a stable and coach-house in the Rolls Yard, while the Rolls Chapel itself served as a general repository. Sixteen years passed before the building of the great Repository in Fetter Lane took shape. Since that date the aggrandizement of the Rolls Office has kept pace with the vast expansion of the Civil Service; and the cost of the English Record establishment has been proportionately greater than that of any other nation. The credit for these material improvements might perhaps be assigned to various official agencies, or to the intelligent appreciation of record sources by the present generation of historians and antiquaries. It might be shown that the Treasury has readily sanctioned a vast expenditure for the enlargement and embellishment of a repository the erection of which was unfortunately delayed until countless records had perished. The Office of Works would be able to set off one admirable design against a long vista of unadmired buildings. Finally, there is much evidence to show that the press, learned societies, and academic bodies, by commendation and example, have played an important part in the development of our national archives.

These favourable circumstances, however, would have availed little without the initiative of an administrator of marked ability. The present Deputy Keeper assumed office in 1887 at a time when the archives, as an official department and an educational agency, were confined to a few rooms in the old Rolls House and to the dark and dreary Victorian repository. Many of those who still frequent the Records will recall those depressing surroundings. The dingy dwellings of bygone Chancery clerks and the hideous

excrescence known as 'Judges' Chambers' which blocked the light and greenery of Clifford's Inn. In the Rolls House itself official existence was sufficiently depressing; but here there was at least the use of artificial light, which was banished from the ill-heated and unventilated Search-rooms. Little better was the provision for students and readers. The Records and State-papers had remained in much the same condition as when they were removed from their former isolated repositories. They were often produced with difficulty, under an artificial and cumbrous system of reference. Of printed lists and calendars there were relatively few for the medieval period, while those for later times were often compiled upon a defective plan.¹ Finally, the time available for the inspection of documents, already too short, was further reduced by liberal vacation closures and frequent interruptions from defective light.

In all this a great transformation has been effected, largely by the administrative ability of Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte. We now possess a fine approach to the imposing buildings which form a connected repository and official bureau. The Museum displays its instructive contents, which have yearly edified and delighted hundreds of visitors and students; the corridors and search-rooms are well lighted and heated; there is a sense of cleanliness and ventilation; the shelves are filled with helpful inventories; and many other conveniences have been added, including an extension of hours, for which readers are grateful in the lively expectation of further concessions.

INHERENT DEFECTS OF OUR ARCHIVE ADMINISTRATION

Nevertheless it must be admitted that these striking improvements have been accompanied by certain disadvantages, while several long-standing defects still remain to be remedied. The original plan of the Public Record Office is now completed; but the loss of space for the storage of records caused by improved accommodation for the staff and public, coupled with belated transfers of outstanding documents, makes an extension of the present buildings inevitable. The great repository in Fetter Lane

¹ This statement does not include the lists published from time to time as Appendices to the Deputy Keeper's Reports, a futile and irritating method of production that was soon brought to an end by Sir H. Maxwell Lyte.

is not sufficiently isolated from risk of fire or civic tumult in view of the irreparable loss that the nation would sustain by the destruction of its title-deeds, the records of its national history.

Another danger threatens the usefulness and even the existence of our Public Records. The wide distribution of published calendars has been followed by increased reference to the original documents; and the deterioration of certain classes, through wear and tear, has been already indicated by experienced antiquaries. In many cases, indeed, very ancient and historic documents have apparently not been repaired since they were deposited in official custody; and to find a modern letter-book or register with the cover intact was an unusual experience not so many years ago. The neglect in either case is doubtless due to the immense bulk of injured documents awaiting skilful treatment; but, though the causes of this malady may be beyond official control, it is one that calls for drastic remedies.¹

The admirable facilities that now exist for the inspection of the Public Records furnish a marked contrast to the difficulties encountered by the student in obtaining access to outlying collections which have not yet been transferred to the custody of the Master of the Rolls. Lost to sight in the recesses of departmental pigeon-holes, such documents are accessible only to literary officials or privileged antiquaries. From time to time some book is published based upon these researches; and earlier writers who failed to find those sources in the main collection are naturally aggrieved that their labour was in vain.²

¹ See also p. 269 sq. The Reports of the Royal Commission of 1910 by no means overstate these injuries; but since the publication of its First Report great improvements have been effected in this respect, and quite recently the arrangements for the care of the documents have been further perfected. The precautions taken for the careful handling and immediate repair of the documents, particularly of those deposited by the Departments, cannot however compare with those adopted by the British Museum and some other public libraries.

² Another contingency is suggested by the following episode. In 1839 the records of the old Board of Agriculture which had been deposited among the Tower Records, were transferred to the Royal Agricultural Society in consequence of the opinion of the Master of the Rolls and the Law Officers that they were not Public Records under the Act, on condition that they should be returned if required and that they should be accessible to students. In later years these Records were sought for in vain among the Tower Records, and their total loss was presumed. In 1912, however, they were traced by the Royal Commission on Public Records; but the Royal Agricultural Society had long since forgotten the circumstances in which they were acquired. The acquisition of still more valuable official documents by the Royal Institution has caused serious inconvenience to students owing to difficulty of access.

The survival down to very recent times of numerous restrictions on the use of certain classes of State Papers will be only too well recalled by many students. It is possible that a few may still remember the time when researches for the history of the Revolution of 1688 did not escape the censorship, but American students have no longer to exercise self-restraint in dealing with the stirring events of the days when George III was a young and enterprising King, or to ignore constitutional blunders, or crimes, which are among the commonplaces of our textbooks. Some restrictions, however, are still imposed which are not warranted by the plea of public safety ; and students are still debarred from free inspection of ancient records which have come into the keeping of a few modern departments.¹

The grievous losses that the nation has sustained through the destruction of unprotected or unwanted Records have been enlarged on in other chapters of this work.² The facts, unfortunately, speak for themselves, and much light has been thrown on the causes of these losses by the Reports of the Royal Commission of 1910-18. The loss of sundry documents through unauthorized abstractions cannot be easily proven nor can its occurrence be prevented by ordinary precautions. The sanction of the Legislature has been invoked for the destruction of superfluous documents. This expedient may be inevitable, but it is one that must not be regarded lightly. As Gibbon has truly said, 'If the inscription of a single fact be once obliterated, it can never be restored by the united efforts of genius and industry.' The risk of such an accident can only be averted by elaborate precautions ; but the Act of 1877 made no provision for the co-operation of historical scholars in the disposal of superfluous documents. Records which in the official view are wholly unimportant may be otherwise regarded by a trained historian.

The right of the Crown to reclaim public records that have been at some time or other inadvertently appropriated has never been expressed in the form of a statute.³ Such powers exist in

¹ For the subject generally see Chap. XV. The withdrawal of archaic restrictions upon the use of later State Papers was recommended by the Committee of 1908, but was not carried out at the date of the Report of the Royal Commission (1912).

² For further observations on this subject see Chapters II and X.

³ The case of the Conway and Throckmorton Papers recovered from J. W. Croker in 1857 is a typical one ; although it may seem almost incredible that a Privy Coun-

other countries, and they were actually included in the first Records Act, as originally drafted. The section was, however, dropped because the prerogative of the Crown herein was regarded by the law officers as a sufficient safeguard ;¹ yet British students have looked on helpless while records that would fill many a gap in the archives have been openly bought and sold. It is needless to suppose that trusty and well-beloved servants of the Crown carried off Papers of State from any other motive than the more convenient dispatch of public business ; but the unforeseen result is none the less disastrous.

The cry for Inventories is heard to-day all over Europe ; and it is raised not only by professional historians, but also by the rank and file of historical workers. Unfortunately the progress reported herein to the Royal Commission in 1911 by the English record officers has not been made good ; but in any case the arrears of fifty years cannot be overtaken in fifteen. Again, something more than a perfunctory List is now required to satisfy the critical demands of local antiquaries and foreign experts ; and we shall see in a later chapter that our archivists must aspire to a standard in respect of classification and description that was never contemplated by an earlier generation.²

In the face of the general recognition of the benefits received from the present administration of the English Public Record Office, it may appear somewhat inconsistent and even rather ungracious to indicate defects in the existing official system. But we cannot afford in these days of international competition and

cillor, the head of a Government Department and a Commissioner for supervising the publication of the State Papers, should have retained an immense collection of documents noted by the State Paper Office in the seventeenth century as missing from that collection. It is still more remarkable that Croker should have been allowed to appropriate these Papers while occupying State apartments in Kensington Palace, that he should have 'presented' them to the nation, and that the 'gift' should have been gratefully acknowledged by the Government (D.K. 19th Report, p. 17). These were not Croker's only depredations, for he carried off many Departmental Papers (D.K. 20th Report, p. 21) and used others in his *Memoirs*. He was able to do these things with impunity because he was a privileged person and chose to abuse his privilege. The recovery of State Papers or Records from men of lesser note by a very summary process has been recorded. In 1771 Papers found in Kensington Palace were immediately claimed for the King by the Secretary of State (H.O. Precedent Book, vol. 2, fo. 87).

¹ In July 1838 Sir F. Palgrave, the first Deputy Keeper, protested against this decision on the ground that Records were 'heir-looms of the Crown, in which no right of property can be acquired' (Lord Langdale's Letter-books, *loc. cit.*). In modern times Sir H. Maxwell Lyte has shown great vigilance and resolution in this matter.

² pp. 273 sq., 284 sq.

intellectual progress to rest upon the laurels of a single decade. The great reforms of 1838 rescued our national credit from an abyss of official apathy and incompetence, leaving us still in the rear of European scholarship. Then our reformed official system slumbered again for fifty years before its next awakening. During all those years continuous improvements were effected abroad, and the intellectual gap was still further widened. It should not surprise us, therefore, if thoughtful scholars have come to the conclusion that it is no longer prudent to rely on the genius of an occasional reformer, rather than on a scientific and professional system such as has now prevailed abroad for nearly a century.

THE TRAINING OF ARCHIVISTS

It will be remembered that the late Regius Professor of History at Oxford, in his frequent references to the use of archives, was accustomed to express the blunt opinion that in France they do these things very much better than ourselves.¹ We certainly find that, abroad, the care of archives and the study of archives go hand in hand, producing a special cult which is known as the 'Science of Archives', and, in another aspect, as 'Archive-economy'. We should seek in vain for expositions of these terms in an English dictionary, where even the title 'archivist' has no native analogue. But on the Continent they take their archives very seriously. There are 'public' archives, containing purely official documents, and 'private' archives comprising unofficial muniments, while the title is frequently applied to historical works or periodicals concerned with documentary sources.

It is natural that the foreign archives should be specially associated in the minds of English students with the 'École des Chartes' in Paris. This institution has been of peculiar value to ourselves, inasmuch as our own Government has not yet adopted the practical system of study for which the Paris School has long been famous. From time to time English students have been sent, chiefly from Oxford, to attend the courses which constitute a liberal education for historical research. Many English scholars must have visited that well-found building in the precincts of the Sorbonne to gaze with envy on the crowded lecture-hall and

¹ Cf. *Transactions Roy. Hist. Soc.*, N.S., vol. xi. (1897), pp. 31-3.

salle de travail, the library, with its careful choice of books, and the unequalled collection of facsimiles. It is almost incredible that, in return for a trifling yearly expenditure of £3,000,¹ the French nation has been able to enjoy for nearly a century the credit of possessing one of the most admired and most widely copied educational institutions of modern times. For, although the intention of the enlightened ministers of the restored monarchy and the Second Empire alike was to provide a technical training for State archivists, their 'School of Charters' has exercised, from the first, a marked influence upon the method of historical study not only in Paris and the French provinces, but also in the universities and academies of learned Europe from St. Petersburg to Lisbon.

The link between the technical and educational systems will perhaps be found in the French 'École des Hautes Études' established in 1868. Since then the tendency has been for the history schools to pay increasing attention to historical method and to combine the most approved instructions with the practice of original research.² To the efficacy of this modern plan the German and Belgian 'seminar' system has no doubt largely contributed, while the responsibility incurred by the preparation of a thesis has given a new zest to the requirements of post-graduate study. The spirit of adventure may now, indeed, be said to roam most freely from West to East; and the American student who seeks materials for his chosen subject from European archives is the latest product of the system which emanated from the 'École des Chartes'.³

The type itself, and the system that it represents, are now widely distributed through Continental Europe. Everywhere we find a similar conception of archives, the same training and establishment of archivists, and a professional review. In recent years there has even been an international congress of archivists; and a notable attempt has been made to establish an international review.⁴

It will be found, indeed, that in some countries this organiza-

¹ This estimate was made by Professor York Powell in 1897; it would naturally be higher now.

² J. Cuvelier, *Le Rôle des Archives* (1911).

³ Cf. below, p. 280 sq.

⁴ *Revue Internationale des Archives, Bibliothèques et Musées*, 1896-7.

tion, based upon a French model, is more complete than in others. Moreover, in more than one of the great European States the initiative in the description and publication of the archives has been left to local authorities or to learned enterprises, while better provision has still to be made for the accommodation of historical students ; but even in the smallest, the newest, and the poorest States of Europe, on both the American continents and in some British Colonies, we find an appreciation of the national archives to which we are unfortunately strangers in this country.

ARCHIVE PUBLICATIONS

In those Continental States which have paid special attention to the science and economy of archives a noticeable uniformity of design will be found to prevail in respect of the official literature of the archives, which is chiefly remarkable for its wealth of inventories. These, it may be observed, include local records which, in this country, are still for the most part undescribed and (there is reason to fear) have in many cases perished for want of this attention. A bold attempt has also been made to present a conspectus of the existing archives ; and it is specially noticeable that these official works are supplemented by numerous ‘ Guides ’ to the archives, compiled by private enterprise, as well as by occasional inventories published in professional journals. Another form of these common archive publications is that of texts produced under the auspices of a State commission. In this country we have not the exact equivalent either of the historical or the bibliographical ‘ Guide ’, nor a series of inventories comparable to that produced in modern France. We are certainly richer than our neighbours in respect of Calendars of State Papers and medieval documents ; but these do not serve the precise purpose either of an inventory or of a printed text. In this country we can also hold our own in respect of printed Indexes ; but these have been mostly published by private scholars and are chiefly of local interest.¹

ARCHIVE MISSIONS

There is another side of the literary activities of our neighbours which deserves our close attention. In an early stage of the

¹ Cf. p. 297 sq.

Continental movement which resulted in the modern science of archives, it was apparent that the study of the original sources for the national histories must be pursued by means of a comparative method. The official missions of French antiquaries in the eighteenth century have been imitated by other nations with very striking results. These undertakings have not only assumed a permanent form, in the shape of continuous series of official publications, but have also encouraged private researches which have been still further facilitated by many admirable 'Guide Books' to foreign archives compiled by trained investigators.¹ In recent years this branch of historical method has been developed in a remarkable degree through the special requirements of American and Colonial students, whose early national archives have, as we have seen, been depleted by natural or political causes.² In these archive missions the British Government has participated during the last thirty or forty years to a considerable extent, so far as mere expenditure and actual publication are concerned. Unfortunately, however, those enterprises were not, from the first, directed on any scientific or comprehensive plan. Copies were made for the English Record Office by agents at a few important centres,³ in a more or less haphazard fashion. Until these excerpts have been co-ordinated with the existing sources they can only be of partial service. No attempt was apparently made to connote the relationship of these foreign documents with the enrolments preserved in our own archives, and the scholarly form of the modern Calendars of Italian and Spanish archives, which is due to the efforts of the present Deputy Keepers, cannot remove the stigma of unworthiness from the whole undertaking.

NEED OF ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS

It would seem, therefore, that there is some force in the plea of many earnest scholars for a reorganization and co-ordination of our archives. So far, however, the academic discussion of this question does not seem to have aroused any official interest ; and

¹ e. g. the American series prepared by the Carnegie Institution at Washington.

² See above, pp. 158 sq., 165 sq.

³ e. g. Paris, Rome, Venice, Simancas, Stockholm. The history of these enterprises, from the Record Commission of 1800 onwards, would be an instructive subject of academic research.

yet, during the later Georgian and early Victorian periods men of affairs vied with literary antiquaries in devising better methods of custody and publication.

The results obtained under the Act of 1838 in the direction of strengthening and enlarging the legal powers already exercised for several centuries by Masters of the Rolls have proved to be satisfactory up to a certain point; but not to the extent that is demanded by modern conditions of learning. Even the statutory control of the Master of the Rolls over outstanding records has rarely been enforced beyond the beaten track of official transmissions. Repositories of State documents have existed, since the year 1838, of which there has been no official cognizance; and a vast mass of official papers has been allowed to perish without remonstrance. Numerous volumes of 'Addenda' prove only too clearly that the official editors of the Calendars of State Papers have been usually unaware of the existence of materials which lay within their reach. As for the 'Lists' which should long ago have replaced the 'repertories' of former times, and which should afford the same assistance to our students as the 'inventories' of Continental archives, it can only be said that, like new-born babes, they must be the subject of congratulation and not of critical inspection.¹

This is not as it should be. None of us would have a high opinion of the business capacity of a guardian ignorant of the minor items of his trust, or of the scientific attainments of a naturalist content to omit what he regards as uninteresting species from his scheme of classification. Then we learn that the administration of our archives during the last eighty years has paid little regard to the 'science of archives' or to methods of 'archive economy'.

Perhaps in this matter we should be wise to see ourselves as others see us. During the last thirty years American scholars have devoted more attention to the survey and description of archives than these have received during all the preceding centuries. Foreign visitors cannot have failed to be struck with the relative inefficiency of our insular methods, and indeed they have told us as much, in quite a friendly way.²

¹ Cf. below, p. 299 sq.

² Cf. p. 175.

But we have been instructed also in this matter by our own countrymen. In the last ten years the Reports of a Royal Commission have exposed the shortcomings of our archive system. Public interest in the subject has been awakened,¹ though as yet practically nothing has been done by the Government to give effect to the recommendations of the Commission or to recognize the importance of its investigations into the state of the Public Records in times of Peace and of War.

The Reports of the Royal Commission demonstrate that the Act of 1838 did not, as it professed to do, bring together the Public Records of England and Wales, or make them accessible to the public; while it did not even afford safe custody to a large proportion of them. The Reports referred to also present copious recommendations for remedying these disorders;² but in the meantime we are running a serious risk of the total loss of many historical documents, while the condition of others must inevitably go from bad to worse unless proper attention is paid to them: for the departmental system which is chiefly responsible for these losses continues unreformed and undismayed, multiplying the heads of its offending.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE REORGANIZATION OF THE ARCHIVES

We are not concerned here with plans for an ideal administration, but the mere enumeration of defects in the existing régime of the archives may seem to savour of purely destructive criticism, and where defects have been revealed, remedies should be applicable.

Among others the following *desiderata* have been put forward by historical students in recent years: ³

1. The extension and improvement of repositories of records, both metropolitan and provincial.

2. The reorganization of the existing administration of the archives and the appointment of trained archivists.

¹ Above, p. 244.

² The key-note of these Recommendations is the abolition of the titular headship of the Master of the Rolls and the substitution of Record Commissioners with a view to strengthen the hands of the Deputy Keeper.

³ Cf. above, p. 237.

3. The preparation of summary lists in preference to lengthy calendars or full texts, until the arrangement of the records is completed.

4. Further facilities of public access to be provided, especially to the later records.

5. The disposal of official documents otherwise than in accordance with the Public Record Office Acts to be prohibited.

6. Official documents now in private hands to be made accessible to students as far as possible.

It may be inferred from the evidence taken during recent inquiries that a considerable difference of opinion exists as to the best means of carrying out these proposals, which have also been stated in different terms. In the first place, the provision of suitable repositories is a matter of some difficulty. Hitherto the best results have been obtained by the conversion of some ancient or historic building, which furnishes an appropriate and attractive background;¹ for national sentiment is the moving spirit of historical research. Experts, however, tell us that in every country it has been found cheaper to erect a permanent repository than to take over and adapt unsuitable buildings;² but this estimate is not always accepted by economists. In certain cases a special repository has been constructed, at a considerable cost, which is out of keeping with a primitive equipment and casual establishment; for an adequate provision in all respects is a serious question when accommodation has to be provided for some hundreds of central and local collections. We have seen that heavy expenditure was incurred for housing official papers during the War in addition to the pre-War establishments.³ If common repositories were provided in the county towns at the joint expense of the Crown and of the local authorities⁴ suitable

¹ There are still a few examples in London (e. g. the Museum of the Public Record Office and the Chapter House at Westminster) and many in the provinces (e. g. Hertford and Taunton Castles). For others see 1919 Report, Appx. (II), and *Repertory (passim)*.

² *Le Nouveau Local des Archives de l'État à Anvers*, by M. J. Vannerus, in *Revue des Archives, &c., de Belgique* (1908).

³ 1914 Report, Appx. (II), pp. 307-36.

⁴ 1919 Report, pp. 35-7. No better use could surely be made of the historical castles which have recently been scheduled as 'Ancient Monuments' under the supervision of the Office of Works. In several cases such buildings have been presented by a public-spirited owner (Hertford) or purchased by a learned Society (Taunton) as repositories of historical records.

provision could be made for the long-neglected Public Records outside London, including the large accessions received during the War. Such repositories would also supply better accommodation than that which now exists, in most counties, for the muniments of ecclesiastical and municipal corporations; and they would be available also for documents deposited by various institutions, and even by private owners.¹

Under an improved administration of the archives it would be essential to make a clear distinction between documents of early date, valuable for historical study, and those of recent date, or such as are still in frequent use for official reference. Probably twenty years is a sufficiently mature age in the case of judicial records and State Papers alike.² It is essential, however, in the interests of the public, as well as of the State itself, that no departmental records whatever of later date than the death of Queen Victoria should be transferred to the existing Public Record Office.

The Royal Commission of 1910 recommended that all such official documents should be deposited in a State Paper Office, to be erected on a central site, in close proximity to the Imperial War Museum, with a view to facilities for the study of the War Records. Apart from the salvage of the War Records and the gain in national prestige and administrative efficiency, the saving in the cost of extending the Record Office and of constructing supplementary repositories would be considerable.

It is clearly undesirable to embark upon expensive plans of construction without regard to the scientific requirements of the archives and without taking stock of the capacity of the existing departmental repositories. Many of these have been constructed or converted at a considerable expense, and they could be refitted and improved at an inconsiderable outlay.³

The same remark applies with still greater force to the extension of the Public Record Office itself. After all, the Fetter Lane repository is an old building, as public offices are now counted, and it compares most unfavourably, according to the

¹ 1919 Report, p. 27.

² It will be remembered that this was the term prescribed by the Public Record Office Act of 1838.

³ 1914 Report, Appx. (II), pp. 260-5.

Report of the Commission, with the relatively inexpensive repositories of archives in Belgium and Holland. In view of the large sums that have been spent upon the departmental archives during recent years, and the inadequate results that have been obtained, the question of further accommodation for the Public Records needs to be carefully reconsidered.

The great point seems to be that the present casual, wasteful, and frequently unsuitable accommodation should be overhauled, and that any new buildings should be specially designed from the best models available and under expert advice. The new Record Offices need not be designed after a *modèle de luxe*, like the Vienna archives.¹ In the French, Dutch, and Belgian archives the repository itself constitutes the main building, and in these countries the offices of the administration are usually of extremely modest proportions, for here the archivist works among his archives.²

Possibly, however, the establishment of trained archivists is of more importance, at first, than new repositories; for a skilled custodian would quickly transform the present environment of the records. It is in the 'Economy' of the archives that the expert shows his worth, and the matter is of practical importance at this time. It would especially affect the administration of the departmental archives. Adequate accommodation could be provided in an inexpensive form, and a small body of trained record officers should take the places of a larger number of inexpert clerks. Finally, the central and departmental archives must be closely linked, and the record service should include a section for Local Records of a public nature, as proposed by the Royal Commission.³

As to ways and means, it might be preferable, as suggested above, to save a large immediate outlay on expansions of the Public Record Office and to spend money in fitting and equipping the provincial archives of the State. The Government would naturally be expected to contribute towards the cost of county and borough repositories of local records provided these are able to house the outlying official records of the dockyards, arsenals,

¹ 1919 Report, Appx. (II), p. 110.

² 1912 Report, Appx. (II), p. 129 sq.

³ 1919 Report, pp. 35-7.

and outports ; but the whole cost would probably be less than that of additional buildings in the vicinity of Whitehall. The success of such a scheme, however, would depend on the co-operation of the respective authorities.

It would seem that there are good grounds for the belief that a very considerable saving might be effected in the salary lists of the central archives. The partial statistics collected by the Royal Commission ¹ show that the total cost of our departmental archives before the War was a very large one, and it must now have greatly increased ; but, if the money were well spent, it would more than suffice for keeping all official documents in decent order, as well as for making them readily accessible by the preparation of descriptive Lists. This may appear to be a sanguine estimate of the cost of an efficient archive service, but it is fully warranted by the budgets of other countries, which include every requirement for the skilful custody and description of the documents.²

The real cause of the relatively higher cost of our own archives, as well as of the bad value that the State gets for its outlay, can be easily perceived. In the first place, we employ three highly paid and untrained clerks to do the work that could be better done by one trained archivist with skilled assistance.³ Everywhere the employment of untrained officials for the purpose has proved a costly failure. Over and over again the authorities have taken steps to put the records into proper order and to compile an intelligible List. The List was begun ; but it did not form part of a uniform or scientific scheme. The junior clerk to whom this work had been assigned was promoted, or was needed elsewhere. The work stood still, while confusion and dust accumulated. At last the uncompleted List was forgotten or superseded and a new one was put in hand.

If the recommendations of the Commission as to the training and appointment of archivists met with the approval of the

¹ 1914 Report, p. 88 ; cf. 1919 Report, Appx. (II), pp. 125-9, and above, p. 238 sq.

² The employment of women for this purpose in foreign archives is noticed and commended by the Royal Commission.

³ As to the advantage of employing trained workers see the evidence of M. Paul Meyer in the First Report of the Public Records Commission (Appx., p. 136). It may be noted that the above pages were written some years ago.

Departments, they could be summarily dealt with by the Treasury and the Civil Service Commission. Perhaps, in default of a State training college for archivists, University diploma courses might be arranged. Such courses already exist in connexion with Librarianship and the Auxiliary Studies of History. Possibly there will be, before long, a Guild of Archivists. Indeed the nucleus of a Society of Women Archivists already exists.¹

A further cause of excessive expenditure has been found in the style of our record publications, which are far more expensive than the 'summary inventories' produced abroad, though perhaps of greater value to busy students. Unfortunately, the cost of calendars or texts prepared by salaried record officers is prohibitive; while the progress of the work is slow and the later period of our history is left untouched. The Royal Commission strongly recommended the substitution of descriptive Lists on an improved plan; for the inferiority of some of the existing Lists was pointed out to them by expert witnesses.² After all, 'the first thing to be done,' as the Parliamentary Committee of 1836 wisely observed, is 'to let the public know what records exist and where they are to be found'. Moreover, the money saved in this way would go far to equip a large number of serviceable archives.

The co-ordination of our national archives should also be supplemented by the skilful investigations of a foreign intelligence department, organized on the lines of the Continental and American 'archive missions'.³ Such an organization would not only promote the long-neglected comparative study of European history, but would serve as a useful bureau of information for the assistance of British students in every capital of Europe.

With a competent establishment and a consistent policy the administration of our archives would at least rest upon a firm foundation. This position cannot, however, be attained unless adequate facilities are given for the inspection not only of the Public Records, but also of all documents of a public nature, down to a certain date. Heretofore the public right in this matter

¹ The Hon. Sec. in 1920 was Miss Irene Churchill.

² 1912 Report, Minutes of Evidence, QQ. 2514, 4799. As to the relative cost of the production of official publications by salaried officers and piece-workers cf. 1912 Report, Appx. (II), pp. 93-104.

³ Cf. p. 254.

has been limited in accordance with a theory of public policy that was not warranted by constitutional or national requirements. Following the exposure of futile restrictions by an official Committee,¹ the Departments seem to have passed from an extreme caution to an extreme heedlessness in this matter. Inasmuch as licence or facilities have been received by various official personages for exploiting contemporary and confidential records relating to the War, it is scarcely likely that the old vexatious restrictions will be reimposed. At the same time, the discretion and authority reserved by the Public Record Office Act to the Departments, in the interests of the State, still exist² and have been strengthened by the Official Secrets Act in our own time. Now that students of History are within measurable distance of the fifty years' limit, long ago fixed for the public use of the French archives, they have naturally begun to anticipate further facilities for research. An extension of working hours is desired in some quarters,³ but the reorganization of the staff and payment of overtime can only be justified, in these days, by a bona fide and consistent demand. As prescription is not a sufficient title without user, so even a unanimous demand for further facilities may be stultified by empty seats.⁴ A more obvious grievance could be found in the arbitrary and uncertain hours of official attendance at many Registries and public institutions.

The most generous facilities in point of time for research are, however, useless to many students if they can only be enjoyed by payment of exorbitant fees. The investigations of the Royal Commission on this subject are instructive;⁵ and their Recommendations are both reasonable and impressive. Here again, however, the service of the archives must be supplied or subsidized by the central or local authorities on definite terms and not merely left to pay its way. Students are usually grateful for very small favours and submit cheerfully to the discipline connected with entrance tickets or with the production of documents, and they

¹ Above, p. 232, and 1912 Report, *loc. cit.*

² For example, certain classes of diplomatic records are withheld from inspection.

³ Memorials on this subject have been presented to the authorities by the Royal Historical Society and the Historical Association (above, p. 244).

⁴ This happened, before the War, at the British Museum.

⁵ 1914 Report, p. 73 sq. An American student was recently informed that the fee payable for examining the old records of an English county would be 6s. 8d. per hour.

are specially appreciative of an attentive and adequate service unaffected by the prospect of gratuities which, under an inefficient administration, may easily compete with the scandal of official fees.

Some students are perhaps less reasonable in their demand for information,¹ and expect not only directions for discovering documents, but also assistance in interpreting them when found. The archivist may be at the service of all his confraternity ; but he should not be expected to teach the very elements of linguistic or palaeography to readers too idle or thoughtless to prepare themselves for serious study.

In all matters of this sort the success of the administration will depend on its official policy. Rudeness and inattention are not more exasperating than indifference or favouritism. Here may be found the weakest link in the chain of administrative functions ; but the flaws are difficult to detect.²

The disposal of Public Records is regulated by statute,³ and minute precautions for its execution are contained in statutory rules. The Royal Commission found, however, that these precautions have not always been observed, and that irreparable losses have been sustained in consequence. The question here seems to be whether the Government realizes that it is possible for public departments to ignore or evade the Act. The Acts of 1877 and 1898 are only permissive, though permission to destroy records may imply that otherwise they are inviolable. In the next Record Act the law should be defined in such plain terms that even the custodians of military or naval archives will no longer be able to plead the King's Regulations, which have enabled them to condemn old records as useless stores.⁴

In the present day the official Committee of Inspection works smoothly and acts with a wise discretion ; but the earlier Reports of the Committee show a want of method and of knowledge.⁵

It is desirable that the lists of records selected for destruction should be published, and that historical documents should not be

¹ 1912 Report, Minutes of Evidence (*passim*).

² Evidence on these matters was taken *in camera* by the Royal Commission (1912 Report) Evidence (eighth day).

³ The Public Record Office Acts of 1877 and 1898.

⁴ Second Report, p. 70.

⁵ Public Record Office, Rules and Schedules (from 1882 to 1913).

contemptuously rejected, on the strength of some glib formula of inutility, but only after taking into consideration every possible aspect of scholarly interest. Certainly the plea of lack of space will not be admitted; neither will it be regarded as a justification of the destruction of documents presumed to be of minor value that the series has been rendered more accessible to students.¹ It is also important that full publicity should be given to the proceedings taken in pursuance of the Act, and that public interests and learned opinion should be consulted. The responsibility for deficiencies in the existing series of records must ultimately be borne by the nation itself; and when at last the archives are reconstructed and co-ordinated, many such deficiencies will be revealed.² It has been previously suggested that it would greatly facilitate the work of reconstruction if specimens were kept of every class of record officially destroyed, together with all registers or lists.³

The removal of current State Papers from the archives for official reference has left many bare shelves in later times. Here, again, the real cause of the evil has been the want of trained archivists in the past. It would have been their duty to supply busy ministers with the documents required for reference, and they would have accounted for all official papers with less trouble than has been bestowed on many circumlocutory codes. As matters stand, two simple remedies might be applied. One is exemption from taxation in respect of private collections of historical manuscripts, so long as they remain on British soil, intact, and accessible to students. The other is the right of pre-emption by the Crown at a reasonable price, for British institutions can no longer be relied upon to compete with foreign commissions.⁴

METHODS AND PROSPECTS OF REFORM

It can scarcely be expected that the administrative reforms referred to in this chapter will be carried out without giving some offence to the official interests concerned; but the criticisms of the Royal Commission of 1910 may be regarded as applying to the official system generally, rather than to the public

¹ Above, p. 201.

³ Above, p. 203 sq.; cf. below, p. 266.

² Above, p. 196.

⁴ Above, p. 241.

departments individually. The reports of the Commission furnish copious instances of the reluctance of officials to admit the existence of defects which were only revealed by the persistent investigations of the Commissioners.¹ At the same time the Government departments showed that they possessed much resourcefulness in dealing with their current papers, and the current records of the War were no doubt skilfully handled. The experience of the last fifty years, however, clearly shows that as soon as records cease to be useful as official precedents, they are in imminent danger of destruction. The reason is plain enough; they are not regarded as historical documents, and in any case the clerks in charge of them are scarcely qualified to select those which should be permanently preserved for historical reference.²

From another point of view the departments have not shown much consideration for the requirements of students, nor have they contributed generally towards the elucidation of their own records. On the other hand, the Record Office, like the British Museum, is an institution which is popular with readers who appreciate courteous and scholarly assistance in their researches. It has been the misfortune of both the Public Record Office and of its departmental satellites that neither has understood the requirements of the other in the past, nor has realized that the interests of the State and those of the public may be identical.

What, then, is to be done? The 'better custody' solemnly promised by the Act of 1838 must now be ensured by other means; that is to say, by replacing the existing Acts, with their omissions, obscurities, and anachronisms, by a single comprehensive measure based on the recommendations of the Royal Commission, which was in close touch with historians and antiquaries in this matter. It is reasonable to expect that the revision of these Acts would clear the way for new and more scientific methods of administration. But since the First Report of the Commission, the War has created further disorder in the outlying archives, and before a new administration can be devised, their state must surely go from bad to worse. As matters stand, the appointment of another

¹ Above, p. 235.

² Above, p. 33.

Royal Commission ¹ is desirable in order to revise, consolidate, and present in a concise and practical form the results of the long and patient investigations of the Commission of 1910, whose later proceedings were interrupted by the War. In particular, the Commissioners should be instructed to deal with the problem of the disposal of all outstanding records not transferred to the custody of the Master of the Rolls. This course has been followed in other countries, and in Italy a Royal Commission is still at work upon the Archives.² There are also precedents for such a course in this country, and it has been practised, as we have seen, with admirable results in the salvage of records missing from the Dominion Archives.³ Historians and antiquaries throughout the Empire would be well advised to urge the immediate adoption of this expedient, for otherwise their researches will often be brought to nought.

¹ The appointment of a Departmental Committee would, for obvious reasons, be undesirable.

² *Gli Archivi Italiani*, Fasc. 4, Anno vii (1920).

³ Above, p. 163 sq.

*SECTION III. PROSPECTIVE STUDIES: THE USE OF RECORDS*¹

CHAPTER XIV

THE ARRANGEMENT AND CLASSIFICATION OF THE RECORDS

Conditions of Custody — Methods of Archive Economy — Repositories and their Equipment — Methods of Storage — The Arrangement of War Records — Early Theories of Record Classification — Practical Systems of Classification — The Classification of War Records.

THE arrangement and classification of the records are matters of great consequence to a student of the Economic and Social History of the World War. In the case of the War Records, the extent of both these processes is unknown to him, and it may remain unknown to him and to his immediate successors, as has happened in the case of the Records of earlier wars; that is to say, the records which come to hand will be the survivors of a collection, the nature, extent, and relationships of which can only be imperfectly appreciated. A knowledge of the original arrangement and classification of the earlier Records would have enabled us to reconstruct the collections of departmental Archives; also to appreciate their value and use. Unfortunately, this is no longer possible owing to the destruction of old Registers and Repertories and even of Records which should have been preserved as specimens.

Although in well-ordered Archives the searcher will not need to seek essential information, wherever he may be at work, he should attempt to ascertain to what extent researches based on the official lists will prove exhaustive as well as expeditious. In the case of the Local War Records and other collections, which are often disarranged and undescribed, a knowledge of the original

¹ The present work was written before the publication of the important manual, dealing with the professional aspect of the Archives, contributed to this series by Mr. Hilary Jenkinson, whose interest and learning in all branches of the subject are well known.

method of arrangement is of special value ; for here the student may be turned loose on the archives and compelled to reconstruct their contents for himself.

CONDITIONS OF CUSTODY

It will be found that the method of arrangement which prevails in one kind of repository or another usually depends on the interests or the inclination of the custodians. Instead of the records being arranged from first to last to ensure their better custody and more convenient use, we find that certain classes of documents have commonly been selected for preferential treatment, especially such as have been required as official precedents and as legal or genealogical evidences.

The effect of these partial activities has been to ensure the preservation of documents which are of personal rather than of general or historical interest. It will also be commonly found that, besides these official interests, the cleanest or the most complete and accessible documents have been selected for priority of treatment. And so the mouldering contents of sacks and boxes and the various classes of subsidiary records have been allowed to remain unrepaired and undescribed, while documents of known value and interest have been similarly neglected on the strength of some obsolete official tradition. To-day, of course, the question is not whether certain documents are worth the cost and trouble of arranging, but whether they are worth preserving. At the same time the fact of documents having been arranged and described in a printed list has undoubtedly contributed to their preservation on many occasions ; for the gaps in existing lists will plainly show what has been the fate of series which had no such stake in the archives.

Apart from the actual danger to the records from such neglect, their hasty or incomplete arrangement has been the cause of much hardship to the literary public. The history of the British Archives is largely a commentary on the want of method that is noticeable in this matter of the arrangement of their contents ; for though a system of arrangement has always existed, it has not been carried out in a methodical manner, with the result that the documents have remained in many cases insecure and inaccessible.

It must not be supposed, however, that there has been no improvement in the system of arrangement. From time to time a born archivist or a zealous scholar has performed Herculean labours in this direction ; in most cases a labour of love. Again, the sovereign himself or his officers of state have intervened from time to time, while the legislature or local authorities have taken the matter in hand at a considerable public cost ; but desultory proceedings of this kind have not proved satisfactory.

METHODS OF ARCHIVE ECONOMY

The ideal method of arrangement from the student's point of view is one that will deal with the documents from first to last ; from their registration to their final deposit as a permanent source of information.

On the whole, the process of registration has been fairly systematic in every period ; it is when the makers of records cease to be concerned with their handiwork that the functions and the responsibilities of the archivists begin. The adequate arrangement of Archives connotes many separate but equally necessary operations. In the first place it must be preceded or accompanied by the several processes of cleansing, repairing, and rebinding dilapidated documents, or of securing loose pieces in bound volumes, portfolios, files, boxes, bundles, &c. Then every document must be stamped and ticketed and labelled. It follows, therefore, that a regular procedure must be devised in order to facilitate these operations and, incidentally, the use of the records by the Public.

In that case, however, the archivist must be thoroughly competent to deal with the subject in hand, and the documents themselves must have been intelligently registered and carefully filed before their transfer to the archives. We have seen that these requirements have not been fulfilled in this country for lack of an effectual co-ordination of the functions of State archivists and departmental registrars or paper clerks.

The same difficulty has occurred abroad, but it has been partly solved by the organization of the ministerial archives on scientific lines. If this practice were universally adopted, with a fixed period for the transfer of all accruing archives, and a mixed committee of

archivists and historians for the consideration of all matters of common concern, the whole aspect of the problem would be changed, provided always that adequate means are placed at the disposal of archivists for the purpose of a systematic arrangement of the documents in their charge. This would include suitable accommodation for the storage of the documents, without which it is obviously useless to expect that they should be adequately arranged.

REPOSITORIES AND THEIR EQUIPMENT

The repository in question may either be a building or a room adapted for the occasion, or a strong-room specially built and fitted for the purpose. Many familiar examples of the former type still exist in the case of palaces, churches, fortresses, or other ancient buildings which have been continuously used as repositories to save expense.¹ In most cases some unsuitable portion of the building has been utilized as a repository,² and the making of the records and their use for administrative purposes have usually been carried on simultaneously, little if any provision being made for their inspection by the public.³ The natural result of this system has been that ancient records, no longer in actual use, have been gradually pushed into the background and a large proportion has perished from neglect or by deliberate destruction, especially when the administration was removed to a new site.⁴ In such repositories as these the provision made for the accommodation of the documents is generally of the most primitive kind. Wooden presses are fitted to the walls or the whole floor-space is occupied by stacks of shelving, narrow gangways only being left between the presses. Again, Papers have been stored in corridors or lobbies where they are exposed to dust and insufficiently protected from public traffic. The shelving itself is usually constructed of rough timber, and the shelves are not adjustable. Occasionally, however,

¹ Cf. above, pp. 128 sq., 258 sq. Somerset House and Lambeth Palace (Lollard's Tower) will be familiar examples.

² The cellars, attics, lobbies, and corridors of Government Departments have been largely utilized for the storage of records. In the case of the War Departments special facilities were given for the provision of airy and well-lighted Registries in the main building or in an annexe, though these were by no means fireproof.

³ Cf. Reports and Evidence brought before the Public Records Commission (1914 Report and Appx., *passim*).

⁴ *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*, and above, p. 132 sq.

the presses are well finished and even glazed or protected by sliding panels.¹

In the comparatively few cases in which a strong-room of some kind has been provided, we do not necessarily find that a better arrangement of the archives prevails.² Indeed, metal fittings may seem out of keeping with buildings which were not originally intended for the preservation of documents. On the other hand, we may expect that in a well-equipped repository the documents will be more accessible and better described.³ There are exceptions in both respects; but, generally, the equipment of the Continental archives, even when they are installed in some historic building, is better than our own. Here, and also in the new type of repository, constructed with iron and fitted up with enamelled steel, we have evidence of a national interest in the archives and of a professional skill in dealing with their contents.⁴

Fortunately even in a primitive repository volumes and rolls are passably secure from injury by dust or handling, thanks to their outer covers; and they can be arranged on the shelves of a press adjusted to their exact dimensions. On the other hand, single and loose documents must be enclosed in some receptacle or protected with a covering, and so the shelves have been filled with boxes and bundles of various patterns and sizes. In such cases, however, the waste of space and the unsightly aspect of these movable receptacles is not such a serious matter as the injury caused to the documents themselves by the frequent untying and re-tying of parcels secured with brown paper or canvas and string, especially when their fragile contents have to be forcibly compressed into a given space.⁵

METHODS OF STORAGE

We have seen that in early times public and private documents alike were preserved in wooden or iron-bound chests and also in soft leather and canvas pouches. These archaic receptacles have been replaced, in the well-equipped archives of Continental states,

¹ 1914 Report, Appendices (*passim*); 1919 Report, Part II, Appx. V.

² *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ The Vienna archives are described in the 1919 Report, Appx. (II), p. 110, and certain French, Dutch, and Belgian archives are reported on in the 1919 Report, Part II, Appx. (II), p. 110.

⁵ See 1912 Report, pp. 13, 22, 23, and above, p. 138 sq.

by the drawers of a cabinet (‘*layettes*’) and by book-shaped boxes (‘*cartons*’) of uniform size placed on the shelves of presses. Certainly, there is no place for brown paper and string in this economy, and the only alternative that can be seriously considered is the use of metal casing or wooden sliding panels which provide a dustproof receptacle without sacrificing space or air.¹

Apart from the danger of inadequate ventilation the earlier method of arrangement was on the whole an effective one.² In fact it closely resembled that still adopted by family lawyers who put away the deeds or papers relating to different estates in tin boxes bearing appropriate inscriptions.³ A further object of this primitive method of storage was to preserve documents, more or less of the same nature, relating to different countries, persons, or subjects, in separate receptacles; and we know from the continuance of the practice down to modern times that documents may be preserved in this way on a large scale.⁴

At the same time we should find that this method of storing documents no longer in frequent official use is attended by considerable risk of injury from ‘moth and rust’, especially when wooden boxes have been used instead of iron-bound chests.⁵ In any case the contents of such receptacles cannot be properly described or made accessible to students, and although tin boxes are not to be despised,⁶ they should be of moderate and uniform size. The continued use of such receptacles as sacks and open bins can only mean that the arrangement of the documents is incomplete.

THE ARRANGEMENT OF WAR RECORDS

As previously stated, the object of the present work is not to devise maxims or suggestions for the guidance of archivists or

¹ The arrangement of the County Records at Chester and Preston in wooden presses is described in the 1912 Report, Appx. (II), p. 146 sq.; and 1919 Report, Appx. (II), p. 109.

² Cf. Palgrave, *Kalendars, &c., of the Exchequer*.

³ This system is still adopted in some muniment rooms.

⁴ The Reports of the recent Public Records Commission have mentioned the fact that an immense collection of Chancery Masters’ Documents was preserved in wooden boxes both at the Record Office and Royal Courts of Justice.

⁵ In many cases the contents of such boxes have been severely damaged owing to the fact that they have been allowed to remain unpacked after standing in an overflow of water. The appalling losses that students of economic and social history have suffered from this cause will some day be recognized.

⁶ Before the Museum of the Public Record Office was built certain documents often shown to visitors were safely kept in a tin box.

students, but to mention certain circumstances which are material for any history of the evolution of the War Records which are so largely concerned with matters of general economic and social interest.

It will probably be found that the arrangement of the War Records exhibits a considerable improvement on earlier official methods. It is true that documents were formerly registered, indexed, and even fair-copied with meticulous and otiose care; but the system employed was usually unscholarly and even faulty. There was much display of binding; but modern students are scarcely assisted by handling fusty 'calf'. On the other hand the system of registration, indexing, and filing practised in the War Registries was exhaustive and accurate. Its defect was the lack of co-ordination with the central registry and the residuum of Weeded Papers respectively. The process of dealing with the War Records selected for permanent preservation has therefore proved expensive and inadequate. Unfortunately the neglect of unsorted documents is not a thing of the past, nor will it be so long as the obvious duty of arranging the archives with a view to their classification and description is delayed. This may, therefore, be regarded as the outward and visible sign of archive economy; just as classification may be considered as its inward and spiritual grace.

EARLY THEORIES OF RECORD CLASSIFICATION

There is more than one aspect and theory of the classification of archives, and the practice itself has a considerable antiquity. The prevailing idea of the medieval system of classification, continued by later archivists with few changes, is derived partly from the nature of the documents and partly from the circumstances of their custody.¹ In the former aspect we are concerned with national, local, and personal distinctions and with other subjects of public or private interest; in the latter aspect all these types may recur among the records of the several courts or departments, each of which may have constituted an independent custody.

¹ Some reference to the evolution of this official system of classification has been made by the author in his *Studies in English Official Documents* (1908). The schemes evolved for immediate use by the Record Committee of 1800, by the Record Commission of 1831, or by antiquaries like Edward Edwards are more curious than profitable.

In this way the National Archives have come to bear some resemblance to a Safe Depository in which money, jewels and plate, papers and deeds are stored in separate partitions under the names of the respective depositors ; but in spite of this precaution thousands of kindred documents ¹ have been distributed by unknown hands among the various collections ² as a result of the vicissitudes of their custody.

It will be evident that the principle of the above classification is a proprietary and a titular one. The titles used may be relative or correlative, and they are employed without much discrimination or method, according to official requirements or tradition and individual theories or environment. Thus from a dynastic point of view the State Archives may be Imperial, Royal, National, Federal, or Regional, while they can also be distinguished as Central or Local ; Public or semi-Public ; Curial, Departmental, Household, and so forth.³ The Local Records proper, apart from branch archives of the State Departments, comprise collections for the County, the Town, the Church, the Parish, and the Family or Individual, which are also known to us by many other titles.⁴

PRACTICAL SYSTEMS OF CLASSIFICATION

Obviously such a classification as this is indispensable in its general outlines. Without its aid the existing archives could neither be located nor distinguished ; moreover, by these means ancient titles are perpetuated and new developments are conveniently indicated.

At the same time this system has its limitations. It tells us what archives exist, and suggests where they were formerly, or are still to be found so far as official inventories and traditions are trustworthy ; but it does not describe their nature and use, which are often intimately connected with their custody. Thus the distribution of the County Records cannot be appreciated unless we know that they comprise an ancient series of judicial records in the custody of the Clerk of the Peace as the representative of the

¹ e. g. Charters, Deeds, Accounts, and other loose documents deposited as exhibits or vouchers in one court or another.

² The distribution of many of these loose records is indicated in the 1800 and 1837 Reports and in the Deputy Keeper's Reports.

³ As to these, see 1914 Report, Appx. (II), p. 87 sq., and *Repertory*, pp. 161 sq. and 255.

⁴ Cf. *Repertory*, pp. 97-158.

Custos Rotulorum and Justices in Quarter Sessions, together with a modern series of administrative records in the custody of the Clerk of the County Council, while a certain portion may have come into the custody of the *Custos Rotulorum* himself.

Again, the Quarter Sessions records in certain towns will be in the custody of the Town Clerk, if he or his predecessors have also acted as Clerks of the Peace ; or they may be in the separate custody of a firm of local solicitors, some member of which has acted in that capacity. In the latter case the records will be sought for in vain amongst the town archives.

Finally, in the State Archives we may find a portion of the War Office dispatches in the custody of the Foreign Office because a former generalissimo also acted in a diplomatic capacity ; or in that of the Colonial Office because on another occasion he officiated as a Colonial Governor. So, too, Naval Dispatches may be transferred to the Foreign or Colonial Offices, respectively, for like reasons ; while in cases where a naval or military officer exercised a dual command, records may be filed for the information of all the departments concerned.

The weak point in a ' proprietary ' classification of the archives, based on the titles of the existing repositories or of their custodians, is that it cannot be exhaustive. No comprehensive survey of British archives has ever been prepared, and no Directory has been published on the lines of the *Continental Year Books*.¹ In every county borough, and especially in the larger cities, there are many collections of documents which would probably escape the notice of historical researchers pursuing their investigations through the usual channels. A large proportion of these is probably of small importance ; but it is impossible to ignore their existence, and they must find a place in the scheme of classification. Failing an official or historical Directory, there is no means of accounting for these scattered collections ; and such a work of reference could only be compiled with the co-operation of local antiquaries and public offices. Even then, there is no recognized method of classification that indicates the nature of the various documents

¹ The best known of these works is the *Annuaire* published in France and Belgium. The *Repertorium* compiled by General F. De Bas for the Dutch War Office is a remarkable monograph. The *Repertory* of British Archives recently compiled by the present writer and his students for the Royal Historical Society supplies much information not previously available.

comprised in any one collection. The existing sub-divisions are either ramifications of an old proprietary system or descriptive titles which are not based on any uniform and scientific principle.

It will be seen, therefore, that two methods of classification are required for the purpose of a complete survey and description of the archives. The first is a 'proprietary' classification of the various collections, indicating their present ownership or custody or establishing the provenance of such as have changed hands during the centuries. The second is a 'structural' classification descriptive of the contents of the archives at large in respect of the construction of the documents and their official or historical significance.

From a practical point of view this description of the archives is of the greatest importance for the discovery of historical documents, provided that a scientific and comprehensive formula is adopted.¹ For this purpose we have to consider the structural characteristics and relations of the documents, which is often suggested by their outward form.

THE CLASSIFICATION OF WAR RECORDS

The classification of War Records is necessarily based upon that which obtains in the several departmental Registries concerned: that is to say, here as elsewhere the clue to the provenance of the Records is found in the administrative system of the office in which they were prepared. For example, records illustrating the Economic and Social History of the War may be found at large among the archives of the Ministries or other departments created *ad hoc* and they may also be recognized from the titles of the sub-departments of the War Office, Ministry of Munitions, Admiralty, &c., with which they were associated. The details of this classification will be found in Subject Indexes. Underlying this proprietary classification the nature of the several types of documents may be distinguished by such structural titles as: Correspondence, Reports, Returns, Contracts, Minutes, Accounts, Statistics, &c. In accordance, however, with the convenient system ² of arrangement now in general use, a large proportion of these documents are filed as Papers in dossiers of various types, where they may be discovered by means of a Card Index.

¹ For an exposition of this system see *Formula Book*, Parts 1 and 2, *Studies (passim)*, and *Repertory*, Preface, and Part I (*passim*), and above, Chap. XIV.

² See above, pp. 4, 9 sq., 34 sq.

CHAPTER XV

ACCESS TO THE ARCHIVES AND FACILITIES FOR STUDY

Conflicting Interests in the Archives — The Distribution of Historical Documents — Facilities of Access compared — Appreciation of an Efficient Archive Service — The Fee System a Hindrance to Research — Restrictions on the Use of Official Documents — The Use of the Archives of the World War.

IN a previous chapter of this work it has been suggested that we have a common interest in the safe custody and intelligent use of our national archives.¹ This interest extends from the records of an early period of our history to those which commemorate the exertions and condition of the nation during the World War ; for the provision made for the care and use of each of these collections has been framed upon the same lines of public policy.

Unfortunately, the existing distribution and use of those archives is by no means favourable to the development of this ideal.

CONFLICTING INTERESTS IN THE ARCHIVES

In the first place, the legal owner of the documents has a primary interest in the matter ; whether this ownership is vested in the Sovereign by virtue of his prerogative ; in a local authority or public institution ; in some lay or ecclesiastical corporation ; or in a private individual who may either have inherited certain muniments or acquired the same by purchase. Secondly, there is the archivist or other custodian who is responsible, not only for the safety of the documents, but also for their proper arrangement and description. Thirdly, there is the historian, antiquary, or research student, who is especially interested in the question of access to the archives at large ; and there are other searchers, an interesting guild of ex-students who live by the archives ousting the old claims of an official monopoly. Often too the ante-room of the

¹ See above, pp. 257, 266.

directorate is haunted by the unwelcome presence of an *amicus curiae*, who must be suffered cheerfully on pain of carping criticism.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

Naturally, the degree of interest displayed by the State, or other authority concerned, and by the archivist or other custodian, varies in different places and even in different times. Experience might, indeed, tempt an antiquary to doubt whether this interest always exists ; but where it is evinced, the motive for its display may differ widely in each case. The official or prescriptive owner may regard the archives as a storehouse of historical sources or of precedents for administrative action ; as securities for the possession of property or privileges ; or merely as curios suitable for display in board-rooms or museums, in libraries or smoking-rooms.

This varying attitude indeed may be largely responsible for the uncertainty that awaits the student in the matter of access to the documents. In some cases this may be regarded as a matter of right or of custom ; in others it is regarded as a favour, or even as an act of grace ; while in comparatively few cases access is either refused outright or coupled with vexatious conditions. Sometimes, moreover, the documents are either kept in storage¹ or they have passed into the hands of dealers who frankly decline to diminish their value by premature publication.² Historical students must therefore be prepared to face the disappointment of non-access to the records. They must also reckon with the greatly increased labour of consulting those which can only be produced in bulk, for lack of description in a Calendar, Index, or List. Fortunately, the greater number of archives will be found accessible, and it only remains to locate them and to ascertain whether they will be likely to contain original sources for a particular subject.

In this connexion it will be useful to bear in mind that the problem of the distribution of historical documents is one of remarkable complexity, which cannot always be solved by tracing the devolution of the archives. At the same time, the scope of the

¹ It may be suspected that the 'storage' of documents is sometimes a convenient excuse to prevent their commercial value being 'exploited'.

² There are, however, exceptions to this very reasonable rule and dealers have frequently shown the greatest generosity to students in this matter. The worst example is seen in the case of a collection that is made by lavish and unscrupulous purchases of documents formerly abstracted from central or local archives.

search may be greatly narrowed by such a method. For example, if the subject-matter is of an official nature, we shall naturally expect to find related documents in the State Archives. If, on the other hand, it concerns the liberties or privileges of some church or city, or the customs of a group of manors, we must first search the muniments deposited in a cathedral, guildhall, or country mansion. This method indeed is obvious, though the spheres of interest in respect of these archives are not always clearly defined. A more serious difficulty, however, is caused by the interchange or transference of archives. Movements of the former kind are, indeed, relatively rare. The State, for instance, rarely lets go its hold of documents that it has acquired by right or by force. The parties to a conveyance of land by means of a Fine may keep their respective counterparts, so long as the King's Court retains its own. In the same way, a grantee can only receive his Royal Charter when he has paid the Fees of the Seal prescribed in the Hanaper accounts. It is even necessary to obtain an order of the Court to recover family papers that have been 'exhibited' for its information.¹ As we have seen, duplicate or superfluous official documents can only be presented to public institutions under an Act of Parliament;² while documents deposited by private donors in the archives are catalogued as an extraneous class of records. Such is the force of official tradition; but it has not prevented the loss of an immense number of valuable documents which have been intercepted or carried off by officials themselves.

By reference to the *Book of Dignities*, we can locate many of these missing State Papers, with the further assistance of the Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, and of the various Memoirs mentioned in historical bibliographies. Some long-lost records may be restored to the archives, by way of atonement, veiled as a gift: others by means of compulsion in the shape of a departmental warrant. The archives also contain many ecclesiastical, municipal, manorial, and personal documents which have been 'taken into the King's hand'³ or transferred by royal ministers.

¹ Scargill-Bird, *Guide*, p. 56. A register of such orders is preserved.

² The Public Record Office Act of 1877 and the Rules and Schedules made in pursuance thereof; cf. 1912 Report, p. 19.

³ *Guide to the Public Records* (3rd ed.), p. 403, and D.K. Reports, *passim*.

These arbitrary transfers of documents have continued to be made from archive to archive, and from generation to generation. At one time it is the Crown that finds its treasures of records enriched by spoils of war, proceeds of escheat, and forfeitures through treason, thanks to the administrative zeal or legal rectitude of its ministers and justices ; at another time descendants of the feudal tenantry, which has suffered these losses of private muniments, retaliate by taking still larger toll of the archives of State departments. In the same way the authorities of the church, the borough, and even of the parish have annexed numerous documents belonging to the Crown, or to the subjects, and have been deprived, in turn, of many local records by local officers or antiquaries.

It will be evident, therefore, that the existing distribution of the archives does not necessarily represent their former state, and ignores the possibility of its reconstruction ; for, apart from the question of their custody, the very interesting problem of the administrative uses of these records still awaits solution. We can recognize the comparative inutility of original Royal Charters and Letters Patent when we know that series of enrolments (besides filed drafts) are preserved in the State Archives. We may even regret that some of the attention which these originals have received has not been given to other classes of more obscure and neglected records ; but when we are concerned with the earlier chapters of the Constitutional History of this country, we can equally realize that original charters might be of priceless value and absorbing interest. The Charter of Liberties issued by Henry I has been reconstructed with great labour and profound learning by a foreign scholar ;¹ but no enrolment exists of Magna Carta itself, and if all the originals under seal had survived they would have been of more than sentimental value.² In one other instance, at least, an original Royal Charter has acquired an unwonted value. The texts of the charters issued by the Protector to certain towns are not preserved in the Chancery Rolls or Files, and the originals are, in some cases, missing or imperfect ; but in the circumstances their value is greatly enhanced.³

¹ Professor F. Liebermann in *Transactions Roy. Hist. Soc.*, N.S., vol. vii.

² McKechnie, *Magna Carta* (2nd ed.), p. 165 sq.

³ B. K. Henderson in *Transactions Roy. Hist. Soc.*, 3rd Ser., vol. vi.

From these few random instances it will be seen that the distribution of the documentary sources is inevitably associated with their custody ; that is to say, it does not follow that even an official document will necessarily remain in the keeping of the clerk who wrote it. Its life history may comprise four phases : in the place where it was written ; in some subsequent ownership or custody ; in its present position ; and finally in a subsequent depository. The last phase suggests great possibilities of discovery, for although a few valuable documents may be removed and lost sight of, many others, hitherto inaccessible, find their way into public collections.

The net result of these vicissitudes would seem to indicate that the normal distribution of British historical documents is central or local according as their respective ownership is of an official or personal character. At the same time it should be remembered that there are degrees of centralization, and that the term ' official ' properly refers only to documents that are the property of the Crown. These, again, are more completely centralized than other types, because, with few exceptions, the judicial or departmental archives of the State are preserved in the several capitals. Even the branch offices and registries under the jurisdiction of the State are regarded as outlying members of the central archives.¹ In one sense the documents that are the legal property of Local and Statutory Authorities or of Trusts and Public Institutions generally are ' official ', in contrast with those belonging to private individuals ; but the true view of the matter would seem to be that the archives of such bodies are ' Local Records of a public nature '. As such, they are accessible to the diocesan clergy and laity, to county ratepayers, to citizens, parishioners, approved ' searchers ' or ' readers ' and others on payment of statutory or other fees, and subject to compliance with the ' official ' regulations.

The actual position of the documents in central or local archives and in public or private custody may be affected by the

¹ The position of these archives is fully explained in the *Repertory*, pp. 93-7. It should be noted that for practical purposes there are a few exceptions to the above official procedure, the most important being the District Probate and Register Offices, which, though merely branches of central archives, are equipped and utilized as local archives.

vicissitudes to which they are still subject ; but such casualties are far less serious than those that are due to neglectful custody or ill-advised destruction. In either case, however, the student must reckon with gaps in the series of surviving records, and it is of the utmost consequence that these should be elucidated by means of notes or cross-references in the Lists. Losses that are concealed or ignored are often misleading, and moreover are seldom made good.

Hitherto little if any attention has been paid to this subject in the printed instruments of research, and in order to see where we stand it will be necessary, eventually, to prepare a stock account both of the printed and unprinted sources. This might be carried out to some extent by co-operation between the Public Record Office, the British Museum and other institutions, and by a fuller use of the Royal Warrant conferred on the Historical Manuscripts Commission.

FACILITIES OF ACCESS COMPARED

The actual distribution of the documents may affect the facilities of access to the sources, and this factor suggests a few points of general interest.

The contrast between the facilities accorded by central and local archives, respectively, is striking ; but exceptions occur in individual cases. Generally, the attitude of most cities and cathedral churches is cordial ; while the student may find himself regarded as something more than a paying guest even by diocesan registrars. On the whole, the facilities afforded by the District Probate Registries are good. Doubtless the existing arrangements in these local archives would be improved if the public showed that the concessions already made are appreciated. Unfortunately, as a rule, familiarity inspires local antiquaries with a contempt for the study of native institutions ; with a yearning for the greater prestige attaching to researches in the central archives. Conversely, the city antiquary appreciates the peaceful solitude of the cathedral close, and the intensive method of local researches. Possibly, too, the facilities and amenities afforded by central institutions contrast with the dirt and disorder that are so much in evidence in local archives, while the local historian, himself an

expert, can appreciate the assistance of scholarly officials and proficient copyists. As a rule, therefore, comparatively little research that is not of a genealogical or professional nature is carried on elsewhere than in the Public Record Office, the British Museum, the Bodleian, and a few other notable collections.¹

The indifference of the Legislature to the welfare of the archives was frequently referred to by the late Royal Commission of learned and courageous memory, and the Commissioners were able to give some striking instances to point an impressive moral.² These criticisms indeed affect the whole policy of the State in the treatment of its archives; but it is noticeable that the Commissioners have attached special importance to the theory, laid before them by historians, that the public interests can best be served by the appointment of competent archivists.

APPRECIATION OF AN EFFICIENT ARCHIVE SERVICE

It is in the archives that a well-trained and zealous expert can be of the utmost service to the public. There may be times and places when the wandering scholar can listen with otiose indulgence to the crude platitudes of some uneducated custodian of national monuments or relics. On the eventful occasion of a visit to the archives, however, our scholar is prepared to make the most of his opportunities. He is not there to take his pleasures sadly. The interest of his subject, the excitement of the pursuit of elusive facts through a maze of unexplored documents, the charm of novelty in his antique surroundings, all combine to exalt his conception of official methods. To him the archivist must be a guide, philosopher, and friend, whether by verbal or by written direction. Vexatious delays in the production of documents and lofty indifference to the progress of the searcher's quest will bring utter discomfort with disillusionment. Less grievous, though not less detrimental to the reader's interests, will be found the failure of the *genius loci* to render help, through lack of understanding rather than from want of sympathy.

It is not difficult therefore, to understand the importance to

¹ The researches of Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb constitute a notable exception. Local societies are chiefly to blame for this neglect of local archives, though of late years some attention has been paid to Quarter Sessions records.

² Cf. above, p. 234, and below, Appx. H.

the studious public of the scholarly training and disposition of the archivist. He has been himself a hard-working student as he is now a hard-worked public official. In his leisure hours he has kept himself abreast of historical inquiry as a writer or teacher; and in both capacities he is qualified to assist and encourage the labours of others. It is not even necessary that he should come into actual contact with the reading public. As a compiler of official inventories of the archives, he will have at least equal opportunities of earning their gratitude.

We have one more view of the archivist as a frequent contributor to some learned journal. Here he may be regarded also as the champion of professional interests, for these technical dissertations upon points of archive science or archive economy are varied by the discussion of matters which concern the welfare of his own order.¹

It is true that there is another side to the picture. In fact, the archivist is an official, and an official is in some respects a benevolent despot. There is always the danger of his becoming a law unto himself, while laying down the law to others. But if an archivist who knows too much is sometimes a tiresome mentor, one who is not a trained scholar, as well as a good official, may possibly prove to be a blind guide.

In another aspect, the facilities enjoyed by students who have obtained access to the archives are admittedly increased by the provision of adequate accommodation, light, heating, cleaning, ventilation, lavatories, table-room, attendance, and production of documents. These are matters which naturally concern the administration of the archives, and they have been referred to in much detail by the Royal Commission of 1910² as well as by the Departmental Committee of 1899.³

THE FEE SYSTEM A HINDRANCE TO RESEARCH

The question of access to the archives, central and local, is, however, most frequently associated with the scope that will be

¹ For reasons mentioned above (p. 252 sq.), the professional activities of the British archivist cannot be compared with those of his Continental colleague. Earlier attempts to found a Society of Archivists have completely failed. More recently our younger archivists have been welcomed in the notable gatherings of historical scholars at University College (London), but these have no professional significance.

² Above, pp. 233 sq. and below, p. 420 n.

³ 1902 Report, p. 40 and Appx., p. 229 sq.

given to researches under the existing regulations ; also with the vexed subject of the remission of official fees in the case of literary inquiries. So early as the fourteenth century an appeal to such documentary evidence was readily conceded. During the seventeenth century the records were also regarded from a constitutional point of view as public documents ; and this theory has only been affected, in the subsequent period, by the exigencies of their custody. In the eighteenth century, indeed, it was readily conceded that the record searcher might inspect any document that he was fortunate enough to find, provided that exorbitant official fees were paid for the privilege.

The need of frequent reference to such records as Fines for the conveyance of land ¹ and for manorial precedents, such as are contained in Domesday Book,² was fairly obvious, and the importance of establishing a statutory Registry of Births, Marriages, and Deaths has been demonstrated by the remarkable development of the General Register Office.³

It is true that the worst abuses of the fee system have been exposed and denounced by official antiquaries since the reign of William IV, but they did not speak for the Government. It would seem, however, to have been the intention of the Public Record Office Act of 1838 to put an end to these abuses, although this has not even yet been fully accomplished.

The Act of 1838 did not indicate with sufficient clearness the right of free access to documents which were regarded thenceforth as 'Public Records'. Doubtless the cause of this reticence, or evasion, is to be found in the notorious circumstances that Parliament, while raising the neglected archives to the dignity of a national department, had not at that time the means of making adequate provision for an official establishment. Thus the old fee system was tacitly continued down to the year 1858 ; but, although provision should have been made for the purpose of vindicating the title of the Public Record Office Act, means were found to keep the old abuses of the fee system in check. Indeed,

¹ H. G. Richardson in *E. H. R.*, vol. xxxiv ; cf. *Economica*, No. 10 (January 1922).

² In the same way recourse was often had to the 'Books of Fees' or other Precedent Books. Repertories of Treaties and other State Papers were also compiled for official reference.

³ 1914 Report, Appx. (II), pp. 163, 168, 170.

in respect of facilities for the inspection of the Records, the rules and regulations made from time to time by the Master of the Rolls should satisfy all reasonable requirements. In other archives, too, a broad distinction is now made between searches for professional and literary purposes, respectively; but in some Government Departments its incidence is still oppressive; while it furnishes a precedent for unconstitutional exactions by local authorities and by persons who have become possessed of Public Records for value received. It might be argued, however, that the pecuniary value of these exactions is inconsiderable, while they provide an inadequate substitute for State salaries and a negligible tax on prosperous litigants. In principle, however, all public records should be open for inspection as a matter of right; and the imposition of fees offers advantages to wealthier suitors. This fact was indeed forcibly obtruded on the attention of the British Treasury during the War, and a large proportion of the statutory fees for searches among registration records was remitted in *forma pauperis*.¹ Unfortunately the 'powers that be' have failed to see the far-reaching issues that are involved in the principle of public access to the national records² which have for centuries replaced 'force and arms' in communal or personal disputes, and which may still avert wars and revolutions by instructing the councils of the nation.

RESTRICTIONS ON THE USE OF OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

It has been generally assumed that the chief obstacle to the compilation of contemporary history lies in the difficulty of preserving an impartial attitude towards the parties and causes of our own day;³ but this might disqualify for all time those who regard history as 'past politics'. Another explanation of the historian's embarrassment can perhaps be found in the cautious policy of the State with regard to official secrets—a precaution which has served as a reasonable excuse for discouraging well-informed criticism of the immediate conduct of public affairs.

¹ From another point of view this might be regarded as a matter of privilege in the case of fighting men and war-workers or their dependents. A concession had already been made in another form to applicants for Old Age and other Pensions by official searches made without fees. Incidentally it may be noted that these searches have proved a serious interruption of the ordinary duties of State archivists (*Transactions Roy. Hist. Soc.*, 4th Ser., vol. ii, p. 32).

² 1912 Report, Appx. (II), pp. 56-64.

³ Cf. above, Chap. III, and below, Chap. XVIII.

Since the rise of the system of 'personal government' (or 'autocracy', as we should now call it) in Europe at the end of the fifteenth century, we can trace the growth of its complement in the shape of Secretarial departments dealing with secret diplomacy, secret service, and censorship of literature; a Privy Council; naval, military, and civil services under the command or patronage of the Sovereign. In course of time the executive functions of the Council and of the Secretaries of State have been extended or delegated to various Boards and Commissions, more recently to a super-Parliamentary committee, the Cabinet.

The proceedings of these executive bodies alone would make a very important contribution to the pages of the national history; and the State Papers in which those proceedings are recorded have never been fully accessible to contemporary historians, who have found themselves hampered by various repressive measures, from the new Statute of Treasons and Star Chamber to the Official Secrets Act and the Censorship.

It is true that from time to time exceptional facilities and even direct assistance have been given to individual scholars, for instance, to Macaulay, Froude, Thorold Rogers, and S. R. Gardiner; but these isolated cases have not constituted precedents for the generality of students, and it is not yet regarded as the duty of the State to provide facilities for researches throughout the archives. By general consent, such facilities would include access to all official documents, except those of recent date, the assistance of trained archivists, and descriptive lists of the records.

It is one thing to suggest that it is the duty of a Government to promote historical study by facilitating original research, but it is quite another matter to ensure the performance of that duty; and yet the attempt has been made. The contemporaries of Hallam and Macaulay must be credited with the successive achievements of a State Paper Office, a Public Record Office, and a series of record publications. Fifty years later the establishment of a scientific archive system and access to State Papers beyond the reign of George III were strongly advocated by the late Regius Professor of History at Oxford and the present Master of Peterhouse.¹

¹ *Transactions Roy. Hist. Soc.*, N.S., vol. xi, p. 1 sq., and vol. xiv, p. 189.

Unfortunately the voice of scholarly remonstrance is still unmarked by the administration of our departmental archives. The present Regius Professor of History at Oxford has pointed out¹ that students were debarred, until quite recently, from access to the Foreign Office archives after the year 1780; also that practically nothing has been done by our Government to illustrate the foreign policy of this country since the reign of Queen Anne.

Not only have distinguished scholars pleaded for a more liberal and a more enlightened administration of our archives; the subject has engaged the attention of a long series of Royal Commissions and parliamentary or departmental committees whose reports make interesting reading at the present time. Throughout the eighteenth century Parliament showed much solicitude for the safe custody of the records, in which 'the public interest is concerned', as well as for their description as 'an honour to the nation'.² In the first year of the nineteenth century a parliamentary committee, whose report led to the appointment of a Royal Commission, recalls the fact that these records were regarded by Edwardian parliaments as 'the people's evidences' and were ordered to be 'accessible to all the King's subjects'.³ More than thirty years later another select committee of the House of Commons expresses its opinion of the records in the following words:

Your Committee fully appreciates the necessity of providing for their security and preservation, and the importance of increasing the knowledge of them, and of extending access to them as general and free as is consistent with their safety.⁴

Further than this, the Committee, moved by the example of French culture, drew an unfavourable comparison between the historical methods of the two countries. It notes that 'all the correspondence preserved in the various offices of the French Government has been declared public', in order that it may be printed down to a certain date. The Committee is therefore of opinion that 'our government should not remain behind in this

¹ *Quarterly Review*, October 1916.

² Report from the Committee appointed to view the Cottonian Library, &c., 1732 (H. C. Reports, i. 508), p. 7.

³ Report from Select Committee on the Public Records (1800), p. 3.

⁴ Report from Select Committee on the Record Commission (1836), p. iii.

course of liberality', and recommends that all State Papers, as late even as 1760, should be available for this purpose.¹

It should be added that the results of this enlightened recommendation are disappointing. Twenty more years elapsed before certain classes of records were thrown open to 1687; and the reign of George the Third was not attained until 1903.

The thoughtful legislators of that time could be equally solicitous for the publication of fuller information relating to the progress of British commercial enterprise. A strong recommendation on this point was made by a parliamentary committee in 1833.² Since then the published statistics of British trade have steadily increased, but the modern papers of the Board of Trade do not seem to have seen the light from that day to this,³ although it would scarcely be possible to give a complete account of the later developments of British trade without reference to these departmental records. There is perhaps more excuse for the neglect of successive governments to encourage the study of military and naval history by the publication of official records. The omission has been supplied on the naval side by the activities of the Navy Records Society, but we have no counterpart to the valuable publications issued by the 'Section historique' of the French War Office, or the admirable series of 'Archives Diplomatiques' produced by the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs under the direction of historical experts.⁴

The inevitable result of this interruption of the main sources of the national history has been to paralyse contemporary historical study. It is true that the conditions have been alleviated from time to time, when the official system has become reduced to absurdity. Within living memory, historians had to seek permission for the purpose of research, and to submit the results of researches in the State Papers of the seventeenth century to an official censorship. The futility of this antiquated system was admitted in the course of a departmental inquiry, in 1908,⁵ which

¹ *Ibid.*, p. xlii.

² First Report of Committee on Public Documents (1833), p. 3.

³ 1914 Report, Minutes of Evidence, Q. 6562.

⁴ On the recommendation of Professor Basil Williams, seconded by Sir Charles Firth, a selection from the texts of British Diplomatic Instructions and relative correspondence has been included in the Camden Series of the Royal Historical Society.

⁵ 1912 Report, Appx. (II), pp. 56-64; 1919 Report, Appx. (V), and above, p. 228.

led to the adoption of a more enlightened system ; but, for some years to come, such official papers as had survived since the death of the last King of England and Hanover were not accessible without restrictions.

THE USE OF THE ARCHIVES OF THE WORLD WAR

The successive concessions which have led to the liberal measures that have been adopted by several State Departments since the conclusion of the War can be traced in the Report of the Committee referred to and in the Reports of the Public Records Commission, to which we are indebted for the discussion of a subject ¹ which should prove peculiarly interesting and instructive to posterity.

It is only fair, however, to suggest that the responsibility of the State in this matter has scarcely been appreciated by the last two generations of our legislators. In practice, the grant of access to the official sources of recent and contemporary history is the concern of the Departments of State, which have sometimes been credited with a scant regard for the claims of historical learning and research. A juster view might be that the Departments merely wait upon public opinion, which has its supreme expression in the Legislature. Certainly in no other country do students experience such courtesy and goodwill in their researches amongst the departmental archives. The trouble is that the modern contents of those archives are largely inaccessible or missing.

It is, of course, inevitable that the historian should experience difficulty in obtaining official information respecting current events or measures. Even in time of peace the interests of nations or parties may be held to justify the suppression or modification of historical facts. In time of war it is no longer a question of political expediency, but of national safety. The official history of the Secret Services of the European nations remains to be written, and, to judge from the modern publications based on some compromising documents, much new information may be expected from this quarter.² But apart from the sensational

¹ 1912 Report, *loc. cit.* ; cf. Indexes to 1914 and 1919 Reports under 'Public Access'.

² *Quarterly Review*, October 1899. The recent scholarly work by Commandant

interest of these Secret Service papers, the Archives of the War can, as we have seen, furnish its historians with a wealth of material elucidating the conduct of Domestic and Foreign Affairs and emphasizing the significance of its economic and social developments. Moreover they can furnish invaluable precedents for the information of the State Departments¹ as well as for the political education of the Public. Here we have to do with many semi-official documents which have been deposited in the archives, and experience has already taught us that the historian may be safely left to use them at his own risk.

It may also happen that information of exceptional value relating to affairs of State is available in some private collection of documents, and thus the tardy publication of State Papers may be anticipated. Against this gain, however, must be placed the disintegration of the archives, the continuity of which is seriously affected by the appropriation of documents containing information that has been acquired in the service of the State.² In any case, however, such documents are privileged, for personal reasons, and much tact and discernment are required for their preservation and use. In such cases the Historical Manuscripts Commission and the Historical Section of the Committee of Imperial Defence might be authorized to act as trustees for the public interests.

We are not immediately confronted with the problem of publishing official documents which might place one nation at a disadvantage if its neighbours failed to follow suit; but the problem is one that will have to be solved. Possibly, in course M. H. Weil, *Les Dessous du congrès de Vienne*, is indispensable for a study of that period. An important study of the Secret Service system is also found in the same author's sketch of the career of General Stamford (1794-1807), but the above are only two of the numerous original contributions to the subject by this erudite scholar.

¹ See above, p. 54 sq. The official histories which should record the activities of the Public Departments in the public service during the War may not all be published or even printed. These laborious compilations (which have been compiled at an enormous cost) might even be pigeon-holed for another hundred years, like some of the official memoranda connected with the Napoleonic Wars. It is to be hoped that the historians, economists, and other experts engaged on these *procès verbaux* will receive the fullest facilities for the publication of their conclusions and the statistics on which they are based.

² The dangerous position of these current official documents and their potential value were recognized in the Report of the Local Records Committee (1902) (p. 40), and more recently by the Conference of Archaeological Societies in 1920. The recent abuse of official access to confidential documents may be regarded as one of the many excesses that are attributable to the War (see above, p. 241 n.).

of time, methods of historical study will be assimilated in every country by some international agency.¹

It may also be suggested that as long as the legislature continues to ignore the importance of the national archives, it can scarcely be expected that local authorities and public institutions will take special measures to facilitate the use of the Local Records which, after all, form the larger portion of the original sources of British History. It is almost certain that the grant of facilities for their public use would form the best security for the safety of these documents and the strongest inducement for their arrangement and description.

From the archives of the State to the records of the village community is a swift descent; but at least the modern Acts of Parliament,² which entrusted our county and parish records to the keeping of the local Councils and threw them open to the public, afford a precedent that should not be overlooked.

We are often told that we should trust the people; but we are not always told with what they may be trusted. Among other things they might, perhaps, be trusted with the truth about the history of their own times. If the true facts with regard to all matters of national interest could be published from decade to decade, our own history of these times would not differ so widely from that which will be written hereafter.

¹ Since this was written an appreciable advance has been made in this direction by the International Historical Congress at Brussels (cf. *American Historical Review*, vol. xxviii, pp. 651-2).

² The Local Government Acts of 1888 and 1894. Cf. *Repertory of British Archives*, pp. 102 sq., 117 sq. The Municipal Corporation Act of 1883 also instituted the system of 'Town Trusts'.

CHAPTER XVI

THE DESCRIPTION AND PUBLICATION OF RECORDS

Responsibilities of Historical Method — Need of an Adequate Bibliography — Agencies Responsible for Record Publications — The Inactivity of Local Authorities — Types of Record Publications — Lists of Documents — Indexes, Calendars, and Texts — Bibliography of the Archives — The Present State of Archive Publications — The Publication of War Records — The Literature of the War.

THE modern science of History has been so rigorously shaped by academic method, and so deeply overlaid with materials from newly-discovered sources, that some discrimination is needed in discussing the most trivial aspects of its study. In the first place, there is the literature to be considered, and in the second place the sources have to be reckoned with. It is perhaps to the conflicting interests of these two elements that most of our difficulties may be attributed. On the one hand, even if we are not disposed to rely entirely upon the printed authorities, a spirit of fellowship invites us to consult the authors and editors who have already laboured on our behalf in this field of study. On the other hand, experience warns us to keep a wary eye upon unpublished sources.

RESPONSIBILITIES OF HISTORICAL METHOD

If there were no printed literature to be considered, we should be free to devote ourselves to a systematic examination of the original sources. Again, if the sources were wholly inaccessible, we should at least have more time to spare for profitable reading or textual criticism. As it is, the modern student must divide his attention between the two methods, with results which are not favourable to his rapid progress in the advanced study of National History.

It must be admitted that in certain continental States, and in America, the excellence of the arrangements made for the classification, description, and publication of the original sources has greatly reduced the extent of these initial difficulties. That

we ourselves are less fortunate in this respect, is a suggestion that has frequently been made in recent years and supported by striking instances. It has been represented to us that the style and subject-matter of our historical publications is chiefly influenced by commercial considerations, and that the arrangement of our Archives is unscientific. Possibly there is some foundation for both assertions. The *raison d'être* of a majority of historical works is not obvious on any other supposition than that they are marketable wares ; though this is a reproach which may be shared by the historical literature of every country during the past and present generations. Again, we could scarcely have expected that the profession of an archivist would be recognized where the very name and science of the Archives are practically unknown.¹

Nevertheless the position is one that must be faced. Both the literature of history and its sources should be jointly available for our use and profit. After eliminating all that is useless or unworthy from the former, there is still a large residue of really valuable works. In respect of General History and certain aspects of National History, we are richly provided for ; while some Auxiliary Studies furnish almost an embarrassment of wealth.

NEED OF AN ADEQUATE BIBLIOGRAPHY

A profitable use of this valuable historical literature might be greatly facilitated by the preparation of a select Bibliography, which is perhaps the most immediate need of historical students.

Another advantage of the methodical treatment of our printed sources will accrue from their co-ordination with unpublished manuscripts. A good Bibliography should indicate approximately what sources remain unpublished, just as an adequate Guide to historical manuscripts will mention the printed literature of the several series. If this elementary definition of Historical Method were accepted and acted on, we should have little need to trouble ourselves about the ways and means of studying National History which, in one aspect or another, is the chief interest of modern historical scholarship.

Although the description of our Archives is admittedly in-

¹ Cf. p. 252.

adequate, while the publications which deal with the subject are of unequal merit, very little attention has been paid to the matter by archivists and students alike. We have no authoritative account of the different agencies that have been concerned with the description of the Archives, nor any critical bibliography of archive publications. Finally, no official estimate has been issued of the cost of producing these publications or of the relative merits of the several methods of production that have been essayed during the last century.¹ In these circumstances, we have naturally made slow progress towards an adequate and uniform description of the Archives, although such a description is necessary both for their safe custody and convenient use. Again, publication of the Archives provides the only propaganda available for demonstrating their national importance or historical value, and the mishandling of this matter in the past has given many occasions for disparagement of the official agencies concerned.

It is impossible to deal with every aspect of the subject in the following pages, or to consider the various requirements of all who are concerned therein ; but an attempt can perhaps be made to follow up the terms of inquiry suggested above by reference to the environment of the documents themselves.

AGENCIES RESPONSIBLE FOR RECORD PUBLICATIONS

Among the different agencies that have been responsible for the description and publication of the Archives the earliest and most productive is the State itself, represented at one time by the Sovereign, and at other times by the legislative bodies or Government departments. From an early date the Archives have been arranged and described from time to time by the King's command ; in his name, by a Secretariat or Board ; or by order of either House of Parliament. The later activities of the State,

¹ The best general bibliography of the English Archives is in C. Gross's *Sources and Literature*, p. 77 sq. ; but this is concerned with the medieval period. A valuable critical survey of the post-medieval official publications is supplied by Professor Firth's 'Memoranda' in the Reports of the Royal Commission on Public Records. See also *Repertory*, p. xxix sq. ; *Bibliography of Medieval Economic History*, p. 16 sq. ; and *Studies*, pp. 101-10. The preparation of an Anglo-American *Bibliography of Modern British History* has been referred to elsewhere (p. 337). For further particulars see below, Appendix I.

however, have been chiefly displayed in the publication of Blue Books and departmental prints chiefly for official circulation.

Next to the intervention of the Sovereign or Ministers of State, we should notice especially the description or reproduction of the Archives by their official custodians. Here, however, we have to distinguish between the functions of the custodian and the interests of the antiquarian; for though archivists, from Agarde to Palgrave, compiled inventories of records in the course of their official duties, they also wrote learned treatises in their private capacities. Other scholars who have described the Public Records of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were not their custodians; for in every age and in every country there have been officials who were excellent antiquaries, and also antiquaries who would have made excellent officials. Among the latter, lawyers and heralds are particularly noticeable and some, like Prynne and Le Neve, were actually occupied with the care of records as well as with their description. A smaller number has achieved a dubious celebrity as collectors and founders of libraries containing literary or religious manuscripts, as well as documents of an official or semi-official origin. For all the mischievous effects and evil example of their activities, privileged antiquaries, like Cotton and Harley, do not seem to have taken much interest in the actual description of the collections which still bear their names.¹ Other official antiquaries, like Sir Julius Caesar or in later times Madox and Devon, have been chiefly concerned with the administrative uses of the records of their own or neighbouring departments.

THE INACTIVITY OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES

We shall presently see that archivists, generally, have been more interested in the publication of particular documents than in the description of the Archives as a whole. The increasing centralization of national institutions between the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries is perhaps responsible for the inactivity of local or special authorities in this matter. The authorities in question include those who are responsible for the treatment of the

¹ Unlike their modern imitators many of the early collectors were also diligent transcribers and annotators of records and manuscripts.

palatinate, diocesan, parochial, and municipal collections, which, for the most part, have been inadequately described. In some cases, however, valuable publications have been issued; while in others serviceable descriptions of the records have been prepared. Among the County Archives, only the judicial records of the Quarter Sessions have received much attention, but a statutory responsibility for the proper care of the parochial records has been incurred by the County Councils under the Local Government Act of 1894. On the other hand, the Municipal Corporations Act of 1883 transferred the responsibility for the preservation of the surviving records of dissolved municipal corporations to the Charity Commissioners and the Local Government Board; while a Standing Committee of the Lower House of Convocation (Canterbury) has, during recent years, revived an earlier canonical supervision of ecclesiastical records. The result of this solicitude is to be seen in several valuable surveys of diocesan, parochial, and county records together with a few official schedules of derelict municipal records now preserved as Town Trusts. For the rest, the extensive collections of Departmental Records and Statutory Authorities in local repositories are in nearly every case undescribed.¹

Although the custodians of these archives have taken a scanty interest in the publication of their contents, many local historians and antiquaries have published extracts or descriptive notes from one or other of these sources, while in a few cases their publications have taken the form of a list, calendar or text of the existing documents. Of late years, by far the most important work of this kind has been accomplished by the co-operation of learned societies or other bodies corporate, especially such as represent academic, philanthropic, professional, or commercial interests.²

TYPES OF RECORD PUBLICATIONS

Descriptions of the local archives, in the form of Bibliographies or Guides, are usually produced by individual enterprise,³ though

¹ Illustrations of the above propositions are to be found in the Reports of the Royal Commission of 1910.

² Cf. *Repertory*, pp. 145 sq., and *Bibliography of Medieval Economic History*, Appendix.

³ Cf. Gross, *Sources and Literature*, s.v. 'Local Records'.

for several reasons it is desirable that these and other agencies should be co-ordinated in accordance with a scientific plan.

Following the above references to the various duties or interests which have contributed to the description and publication of Archives, the several forms of the resulting compilations may be briefly enumerated. These may be generally distinguished as manuscripts and printed works respectively, some being intended for use in the Archives, while others will enable the student to dispense with personal researches.

In due order of precedence we have the 'Bibliographies' and 'Lists of Lists', which are supplemented by the modern 'Hand-book' or 'Guide' and the 'Directory' or 'Repertory'. A detailed description of the Archives is furnished by 'Lists', 'Indexes', 'Calendars', and 'Texts' of the documents. Each of the above types can be precisely defined, and they include some variants which will be mentioned below with an appreciation of their value and use. But as the Directories, Bibliographies, and Guides are actually based upon the Lists and other instruments of research, the nature and condition of the latter should be considered first.

LISTS OF DOCUMENTS

A List of the documents preserved in Archives has also been styled an Inventory, and it is to students of MSS. what a Catalogue is to readers of printed books. Its purpose is to describe all the documents contained in the Archives, or in a given section of them, as precisely and briefly as possible, so as to enable the student to make good use of the same. Incidentally, it will enable the archivist to account for these documents from time to time.

This List may exist in a printed form (whether it is published for sale or otherwise) or in a manuscript form, which may be of great antiquity. In either case its scope may vary considerably, for it may purport to comprise all the documents in the Archives, or only those of a certain class. In practice, however, a complete List of the Archives is rarely found, and then usually in the case of local collections; while its claim to completeness may well be doubted. There are Lists, both ancient and modern, compiled at a prodigious cost by family lawyers or by record agents, as well

as by archivists, which constitute exhaustive inventories of the Archives, but without possessing the lucidity or convenience of a Summary List constructed on an approved principle. Such primitive lists may, however, supply valuable information as to documents that are no longer available. Again, there are Lists so meagre as to be of little use to students, and others, both full and slender, that are unintelligent and utterly misleading.

Some reasons for the existence of these shortcomings will be presently suggested; but one cause may certainly be found in the form of the List itself. This is seldom printed, because that state suggests finality, and in most cases an inventory is regarded (officially) as a temporary expedient, which can be improved on when the documents themselves have been fully sorted and described; also when their relations with other classes are more clearly understood. There are other reasons, too, for this official reticence. Lists which have been published cannot be easily withdrawn; and it is sometimes necessary to withdraw them. For example, some of the documents originally included may have been transferred to other classes (as an afterthought) or removed to other archives, owing to the want of a clear understanding as to their official custody. Again, many documents contained in official Lists (sometimes whole series) may be selected for disposal as useless. In such cases as these, a manuscript List which can be amended by a stroke of the pen is obviously more serviceable than one that must be frequently reprinted. Finally, the traditional, but often unintelligent censorship claimed by Government Departments over historical documents which were presumably transmitted to the Archives for public use, has been responsible for the delayed publication of the Lists.

The above limitations may seem inexplicable; but we have already seen that the arrangement and classification of the Archives were not carried out in this country according to a scientific and uniform plan. It is not surprising, therefore, that the preparation of inventories of documents has only been partially accomplished or that their publication has been attempted in a hesitating fashion.

A French scholar has remarked that the first question that a student of history should ask on entering the Archives which

contain the MSS. or records of which he is in search is, 'What lists are available for the use of the public?' The importance of this question may be obvious; but at the same time it is not always asked. Indifference or timidity keeps many students tongue-tied on a subject which is sometimes, no doubt, one of considerable delicacy. Certainly the fact remains that, for lack of such information, works of research have been produced in an incomplete form and many seekers after knowledge have been sent empty away. It is equally certain that the value of other official works of reference, such as Calendars of Records or State Papers, has been seriously affected by the same deficiency. It is therefore a matter of the utmost importance that historical students should encourage the production of official Lists, both of MSS. and records, by every means in their power. The appreciation of such inventories by the literary public is in itself a stimulus to official enterprise in this direction; for it must be remembered that these Lists can only be compiled by the officials themselves.

But not only should Lists be prepared, they should also possess the qualities of completeness, convenience and permanence of reference, and accessibility. In addition to these essential requirements a diplomatic description and scientific classification of each class of documents should be at least attempted. It may be added, as a logical conclusion, that all printed Lists should be published and that all unprinted Lists should be printed with the least possible delay; for we have seen that the operation of listing would conduce to the methodical arrangement of the sources and to their preservation by systematic repairs. We know, too, that in the case of official archives the existence of outstanding or missing documents would be revealed, and many precious papers would be rescued from the risks attending their custody in unskilful hands.

Some such ideals of archive economy might seem to be justified by the Public Record Office Act of 1838, which still remains the Great Charter of English historical students.¹ The position, however, presents some difficulties. On the one side, students naturally desire to ascertain for themselves the extent and nature

¹ e. g. Section iv of the Act.

of the sources which actually exist for their respective subjects. On the other side, archivists are not always able to satisfy this desire, for reasons which have been previously suggested.

These obstacles to heuristic enterprise are common to all archives and, collectively, they are mainly responsible for the non-preparation or non-publication of adequate Lists. At the same time it is only fair to observe that the ideal of many students is not recognized by all ; for in every house of archives the student who insistently and slavishly relies upon official direction and advice is a familiar figure. It is due to want of solidarity among students of the archives themselves that *desiderata* which include a strictly alphabetical and chronological arrangement of the Lists, permanent references, and publication at a moderate price, should remain *desiderata* still.

It is true that in point of bulk the published inventories alone form a considerable array, but a very large proportion of these is in fact obsolete. The progress made in listing the Public Records of this country can be traced, through the Reports of successive Deputy Keepers, from the year 1840 onwards. At length in 1856 we come upon a partial List of Lists, and then a better one occurs in 1862, which is feebly supplemented, year by year, down to 1870. From this date (with the exception of an unintelligent List of Lists compiled in 1879) official interest in the preparation of Lists seems to have been suspended until the modern series of 'Lists and Indexes' was founded by the present Deputy Keeper in 1892.

For this well-known and most valuable series all students must be heartily grateful. In the first place, the volumes are published, though at an excessive price, and the total number is respectable, even if it represents the official production of a long period. Unfortunately, however, this imposing series cannot be examined in detail in relation to the *desiderata* stated above. Not all the volumes can be regarded as Lists or Indexes, for some are really Calendars. Of the Lists, several are uncompleted, and more than one does not pretend to be exhaustive ; while fewer still are furnished with an index, without which they are comparatively useless for the purpose of modern research, especially when the contents are not in strict alphabetical or chronological order.

Nevertheless, it can at least be seen that we have here the

beginnings of a permanent and scholarly series. Its defects are probably due in a great measure to the official tradition which has regarded Lists as mere sops to be flung from time to time to hungry guests, pending the leisurely preparation of more distinguished fare. Its merits in respect of industry and accuracy are conspicuous; and if regard were paid to uniformity of design and certain conventional requirements to which reference has been made above, this series would in time take its place with the best work of foreign archivists. But an inventory of documents that is incomplete can be of partial use only; while an inventory which remains unfinished during a decade, or longer, must be a sore trial to the patience of the student who finds two-thirds of the official documents still inadequately listed nearly a century after the Public Record Office Act of 1838.

Such, briefly, is the position in respect of the instruments which must be regarded as an essential part of the modern student's equipment for original research. Perhaps the requirements of the cosmopolitan student include a published key to all official lists, together with published class-lists, and the lists of 'special collections' advocated by M. Léopold Delisle. These inventories would bring the archives, as it were, to our doors, and they would also save much precious time and dispel unprofitable mysteries. Many years must probably elapse before we, in this country, can hope to realize the ideal of French scholars in the shape of a complete register of the manuscript sources available for the study of British history and literature—a task attempted by Edward Bernard in the seventeenth century, and resumed on wrong lines by the late Sir T. D. Hardy. In the meantime much could be accomplished in several directions if the extreme importance of the matter were clearly recognized.

With sufficient encouragement and financial support, the Manuscript Department of the British Museum could doubtless give the finishing touches to its great 'Class Catalogue',¹ the publication of which would be a boon to all students. The collections of the great university libraries, colleges, and certain

¹ Besides the valuable statement of the nature and the extent of the manuscript collections in the British Museum prepared by Sir Frederic Kenyon for the information of the Royal Commission of 1910, an admirable summary has been published by Mr. J. P. Gibson in the very helpful series of 'Students' Helps' (S.P.C.K.).

learned corporations have been taken in hand during the last twenty years with excellent results. The muniments of cities and cathedrals are still chiefly known to us through the able Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, but some independent lists of these as well as of private collections have been issued in our time. A glance at the valuable statistics compiled by the Committee on Local Records and the Public Records Commission will, however, show that the minor collections are strikingly deficient in this essential condition of good custody. There are also some notable defaulters in high places, and certain hardened offenders have attempted to justify their conservative habits by a plea of legal caution.

At the same time a display of public spirit in such matters can scarcely be looked for in the absence of public interest, which must not be mistaken for the self-interest of scholars concerned for the rapid production of calendars and indexes, since the precepts of historical method insist that a list of the sources shall have precedence of every other form of official publication.

There is one remaining point connected with the official handling of these inventories that is of great interest to students in every country. This refers to the destruction of old Lists revealed by official publications,¹ which is, doubtless, to some extent, inevitable. Yet even a discarded inventory may contain something of value—an archaic reference, an explanatory heading, the title of a long-lost document, or even descriptions of an entire series of documents destroyed by negligence or mistake in earlier times.

INDEXES, CALENDARS, AND TEXTS

The Lists of documents in the Archives has been described here as an essential instrument of research ; but its functions have been frequently discharged by other instruments which really have distinctive uses. These are the Index and the Calendar, often confused with the List in an earlier period or purposely substituted for it in later times, and their true object is not to locate or identify the documents, but to provide an analysis of their contents.

¹ 1912 Report, p. 24.

The Index, in its simplest form, is a Table of Contents to individual documents which contain successive entries or comprise several matters of interest. Such Tables are often prefixed or appended to original MSS. or form separate compilations ; but their usefulness largely depends on the accurate foliation of the document and, on the whole, their value is rather suggestive than practical. The later conception of an Index is that of an alphabetical table of the names of persons and places or matters occurring in the document, though a chronological or subject analysis may also be found even at an early date. Indeed, the contents of certain classes of documents can still only be ascertained from ancient official compilations. With the last-mentioned type of Index may be included the Repertories, Common-place Books, and Precedent Books kept by officials and students to facilitate public and private researches respectively.

The Calendar is an instrument of research which has a much wider scope. If we exclude the so-called Calendars which are really Lists or Indexes, and include the 'Lists and Indexes', which are really Calendars, we may regard its general character as that of an analysis of individual documents in the form of a *précis* of their contents. Properly speaking, none of these instruments should exceed their respective functions. Neither a Calendar nor an Index can replace a List ; but an Index or List may partially serve the purpose of a Calendar, and an Index is not urgently required when a proper Calendar exists. As matters stand, not much attention is paid to this relationship. In particular, Lists are often meagre to a degree, while much time is sometimes wasted on elaborate Indexes which are less valuable than a good Calendar properly indexed.

Unfortunately, the Calendar may be either not full enough to give a faithful *précis* of the documents, or so full that it almost amounts to a transcription or translation of the text. In the former case, the Calendar is of little use, while in the latter case it exceeds its true functions, without replacing a critical edition or good translation of the Text.

Again, the value of a Calendar, which may be judicious in respect of proportion and otherwise scholarly in point of execution, is greatly diminished by the omission of a full index of

subjects¹ which is essential for historical reference. Finally, it will be obvious that a Calendar, like a List or Index, must be compiled according to a uniform plan, not only in respect of the extent but also of the scope of the undertaking. That is to say, certain classes of documents must not be arbitrarily included or excluded from time to time according to the opportunities or opinions of the editors. This is a matter of the greatest importance as, owing to the practice of relying on Calendars for the distribution of documents in the Archives, students may easily be deceived by the fitful inclusion in Calendars of extraneous sources, or by the complete omission of others which form part of the materials which were available and which ought to have been included.

Although the Calendar is commonly used as a generic term, its form includes 'Reports' on the Archives and other abstracts of historical documents. It has been mentioned that an extremely full Calendar may closely approach the substance of a text; and again a series of selected passages or cases may serve as a key to certain classes of archives.

The 'Text' proper, however, has a well-marked individuality of its own. It preserves the actual words of the original MS. with its more important variants, usually *verbatim et literatim*. Like the Calendar, it is furnished with an Index and explanatory Preface, and it may also be elucidated by Foot-notes and Appendices.

Naturally the form of any one edition of a Text may differ from that of another. It may not be based on an authentic archetype or preserve the variants found in other MSS. Again the Text may be represented by a modernized version, or by a translation. Nor is it found exclusively in print; for sometimes only a modern transcript or a photographic facsimile are available, both of which may be acceptable as a temporary expedient.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE ARCHIVES

Mention was made at the beginning of this Chapter of a further instrument of research in the form of a Bibliography of

¹ This has been the one grave defect of the admirable series of medieval Calendars; but its serious nature has not been revealed, because the majority of medieval record searchers are content with personal or local indications for reasons which it would be tedious to mention. Of late this defect has been remedied.

or 'Guide' to the Archives; but although in all Handbooks of Historical Method these have precedence, they are actually based upon the List and other descriptive instruments.

There is no separate Bibliography of British Archives; but the best Historical Bibliographies deal with the subject in a special section,¹ and attention is paid to it in the classified lists usually published as a pendant to important works of historical research.²

A special Catalogue of Record Publications was issued by the Stationery Office down to recent years and still forms Section I of the list of official publications.³ This list is also partly reproduced in the fly-leaves of individual volumes of the official series.

The printed and manuscript 'List of Lists' has a special interest in connexion with the provenance and evolution of many of these instruments of research as well as for the purpose of ascertaining their disposal, and further assistance herein is furnished by the Guide or Handbook. This purports to provide a description of the Archives in the shape of a survey and commentary of the several classes; but such a survey may also be attempted in a 'Classified List'.⁴ The Guide is also concerned with the Lists or other publications relating to the Archives; but its scope and value largely depend upon the agency by which it is produced. Thus the Guides to British Archives extensively compiled in recent years for the information of American students or the Reports of the French 'Missions des Archives' and similar enterprises for the discovery of materials for other national histories in this country may also be of value, incidentally, to British students. In fact many of the American Guides are particularly valuable to all students of the period subsequent to 1783 owing to the general lack of proper Lists and Indexes of these historical documents. The Guides referred to are made upon a uniform plan by scholars with a special knowledge of the subject, according to a skilful method of investigation. At the same time, the researches of private students cannot prove

¹ Cf. pp. 296 sq. and 337.

² e. g. the *Cambridge Modern History*; the *Political History of England*, &c.

³ The list referred to by Gross (*Sources and Literature*) is now out of print.

⁴ F. G. Davenport on Agrarian sources; cf. M. F. Moore, *Two Bibliographies of Medieval Study*.

exhaustive in respect of documents as yet undiscovered or unarranged, and here the Returns received by Royal Commissions or Select Committees, in virtue of a Royal Warrant, and the personal inquiries of the Commissioners may prove to be of real value.¹

THE PRESENT STATE OF ARCHIVE PUBLICATIONS

The existence of the above defects or inconsistencies in the preparation of our instruments of research is inevitable owing to a want of method that has been already pointed out. Hitherto no general principle has been adopted for the compilation of Lists, Indexes, or Calendars. The official innovation introduced in 1891 in respect of their publication as distinct series was an important step, but it did not lead British archivists to a parting of the ways. The era of the publication of unwieldy, costly, and unscholarly editions of texts and calendars of official documents in 'record type', and of the scholarly but somewhat otiose editions of 'Chronicles and Memorials', is indeed over, and the admirably concise and learned Calendars of medieval Chancery Enrolments and the rest have taken their place. Nevertheless, this great undertaking needs to be supplemented by the preparation of subject indexes, and to be augmented by the publication of uniform Summary Lists, before it can satisfy the requirements of the students of social, economic, naval, military, ecclesiastical, legal, and local history and of the auxiliary studies of history, subjects which were overlooked during the ascendancy of the politicians and genealogists.

But an even more important consideration is that of time. The official series of Calendars was a belated instrument of research in 1860, and now, after sixty years, while the greater part of the Hanoverian State Papers remains undescribed, the student of the Victorian era is knocking at the gate of the Archives. We are much better off in respect of textual reproductions or versions of historical documents, but here again a want of uniformity and co-ordination is noticeable. General regulations have been drawn up by the Master of the Rolls and by some learned societies for the guidance of editors, but these are admittedly in

¹ e. g. the 1800, 1835, 1837, 1902, 1912, 1914, and 1919 Reports.

need of revision. Thus in respect of the preparation, publication, and use of these essential instruments of research there exists a state of affairs which is unfavourable to the best interests of historical students ; and this is a matter of grave and increasing importance.

THE PUBLICATION OF WAR RECORDS

It must not be forgotten that the Departmental Archives have, in the past, kept the historian at a distance, not by any means respectful.¹ The official papers of the last three generations of British statesmen and men of action have been closed to him, regardless of the interests of our national history. Permission has, indeed, been solemnly given for researches in the economic and social history of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries ; but, until a few years ago, the archives were closed to the historian of the period subsequent to the Napoleonic War.

The enterprise of Societies and individuals may partly excuse the neglect of successive Governments to encourage the study of the national history by the publication of official documents.² The omission has been supplied on the naval side by the Navy Records Society ; but we have as yet no equivalent to the valuable studies of the Historical Sections of the French ministries of Foreign Affairs and of War. On the other hand, the contemporary historian is helped by common knowledge and personal information which cannot be adequately expressed in formal documents. There is also, as we shall see, much printed literature which throws light on the causes and consequences of recent events. These printed sources, however, are widely distributed and sometimes casually preserved. In order to secure their preservation and to make them readily accessible they should be systematically collected, arranged, and catalogued as an annexe to archives and museums.³

The collection and preservation of the printed literature of the

¹ ' They seemed to consider it a piece of impudence for any one to ask for leave to consult papers ' (Evidence of Sir J. K. Laughton before the Royal Commission on Public Records, 1912, Q. 2158).

² The argument (if it should be advanced) that the substance of these documents has been published in official prints, is vitiated by the practice of official expurgation.

³ Valuable work in this direction has been done by the late Sir George Prothero and his collaborators (Central Committee for National Patriotic Organization, 1914-17). For a discussion of the use of these sources see above, Chap. III.

War does not, however, fall within the ordinary functions of any Government Department ; but this is both an important and an urgent matter. At an early period of the War it began to engage the attention of several foreign Governments and fortunately, before it was too late, the Imperial War Museum took the matter in hand. At the same time valuable collections have been formed by the British Museum and many local libraries and institutions, and these have been supplemented by the enterprise of private collectors.¹

THE LITERATURE OF THE WAR

A complete and scientific survey of the publications which relate to the War would involve the compilation of more than one special Bibliography. Not all of these publications will be of an historical nature ; nor, again, will all the histories of the War be based upon the evidence of the War Records. The historical student is chiefly concerned at the present moment with the need for a printed Guide or Directory to the Original Sources as a whole. Next to this he requires Lists of Archives and Catalogues of Museums.² Indexes may be regarded as luxuries at this time, and a wealth of departmental indexes should exist in a typed form. If these essential works are properly compiled, fuller Calendars may be dispensed with for the present.³ Texts have already been partially printed in many different forms and places ; but official prints must be accepted at the student's peril, and in any case their permanent preservation is precarious owing to their promiscuous custody and the doubtful quality of modern paper and ink. The real value of the Official Histories of the War at large will depend, not so much on their literary merit as on their comprehensive treatment of the original sources ; but the official

¹ The Imperial War Museum Library was recently housed at 25 South Audley Street, W., and manuscripts as well as printed books, &c., were preserved there. The documents and books relating to Propaganda are particularly interesting. The librarian is Mr. A. Forbes Sieveking, F.S.A.

² One of the most complete and valuable of the special collections that have been made in this country during the World War is that commemorating the activities of British women in various directions. A catalogue of this collection has been compiled under the supervision of Miss Agnes Conway, honorary secretary of the Women's Work Section of the Imperial War Museum Library, and it is to be hoped that this may eventually be printed.

³ An extensive *Bibliography for the Economic and Social History of the World War* has been compiled by Miss M. E. Bulkeley in the present series : another compilation is concerned with War Departments.

histories now in course of preparation, of various Departments or Institutions connected with the War, should be of great and immediate service.¹

Besides these systematic and official publications there will be a very large number of semi-official monographs, diaries, and other publications based upon official documents or personal experiences and impressions. The value of such works will naturally differ, according to the opportunities and capacity of the authors; thus their importance may be disproportionate while, for the most part, they are neither in safe custody nor accessible. At the same time it is obvious that such works may be of considerable value and interest, and their publication may disclose special sources of information or anticipate the publication of official documents.²

Usually the works referred to have been compiled by untrained writers and are devoid of critical perception. There is another kind of publication relating to the War which, though admittedly based only on information that is generally available, records the deliberate conclusions and shrewd impressions of a trained historian. Such works, of course, are valuable, like the weighed estimates of experts on other aspects of the War, provided always that they are written in a spirit of absolute detachment from national interests; and few indeed were so written during the War.³ The last-mentioned class includes some valuable and scholarly essays published as pamphlets or in periodicals; but it would perhaps be scarcely fair to regard the *obiter dicta* of publicists and journalists as historical sources. These productions may, however, be instructive for a study of the mentality of the

¹ As to the activities of the War Ministries and other departments in compiling extensive accounts of their activities during the War see 1919 Report, Appx. (II), p. 123, and below, p. 39 sq.

² Thus the official records of an important branch of the Ministry of Information under the direction of the late Lord Northcliffe, which were deposited at Crewe House, and which presumably should have been preserved or disposed of like other records of the Ministry, were used by the Deputy Director as materials for a War History, with the title of 'The Secrets of Crewe House'. In other directions the substance of contemporary documents has been published by officials whose revelation of State affairs will prove useful hereafter to less favoured students.

³ It is noticeable that interesting original works have been evolved apparently from the inner consciousness of writers who have been actually inspired by personal experiences or by official information, direct or indirect. The value of these essays is naturally greater than that of the pretentious prophecies that were published in connexion with the progress or results of the War.

general public in a crisis of the national history. Moreover, the interest of historical facts recorded only through this agency has assigned to the newspaper file a recognized place in the contemporary literature of the World War.¹

There is one more section of that literature which might be regarded as of special interest to historical students, the Propaganda for which the British Nation or its Government were responsible; but this political camouflage is frankly a mere travesty of historical documentation.²

One need not be a student of political psychology to realize that the conditions of national government and of international relations have been completely changed by the insidious progress of a new moral force. Already, during the recent World War, the influence of Propaganda exercised a marked effect upon the fortunes of the belligerent nations. With the Armistice and during the Peace negotiations, it became increasingly evident that the supremacy of physical force was on the wane. Finally, a paroxysm of War weariness left the Propagandists in possession of the field, though whether their influence has been used for good or evil, cannot yet be determined.³ The militant spirit may have been cast out; but it has been replaced by an eager opportunism.

¹ Subject, of course, to verification in certain instances, where political influences or hypnotic suggestion are indicated. The need for this precaution is demonstrated by the vogue of the 'War Legend', or other developments of Rumour, as to which see Sir Charles Oman's Presidential Address in *Transactions Roy. Hist. Soc.*, 4th Ser., vol. i (1918). The position of the newspaper among historical sources has recently been the subject of scholarly investigation by Miss Salmon.

² From an administrative point of view this subject is instructive in connexion with the various expedients of the Secret Service and the Censorship, together with the activities of the several departments concerned with the supply of Information, a service which provided the most potent force employed by the belligerents. For the question of the disposal of the records of these administrative bodies see above, p. 23 sq., and below, p. 187 sq.

³ Since this chapter was written Professor E. D. Adams has published a very interesting and instructive Report of his proceedings in connexion with the gathering of materials in Europe for the Hoover War Collection at Stanford University, California. The Report gives a concise descriptive Analysis of the Contents of the Collection and an interesting account of the proceedings of the 'Commission' (represented by Professor and Mrs. Adams). A careful perusal of this Report will show that, thanks to the foresight of its commissioners, the Stanford University has secured a collection of War Records which is in some respects unique. Much light is also thrown by this Report upon British and Foreign archive economy in connexion with propaganda and official information generally; but, naturally, only a certain proportion of the documents relates to the Economic and Social History of the World War.

CHAPTER XVII

THE MATERIALS AND FORMS OF THE DOCUMENTS

The Scientific Description of Documents — The Forms of Documents — Forms of Records in Kindred Archives — Types of War Records — Types of Local Records.

THE SCIENTIFIC DESCRIPTION OF DOCUMENTS

THE subject of the materials and forms of the documents that are to be found in archives may not, perhaps, appear to be one with which we are immediately concerned. At the same time it is important that students of the archives should be able to visualize the existing types of documents, both the archaic forms mentioned in various works of reference and later types of documents; for correct reference in these matters is of great importance in research. The problem touched upon there is therefore one which is bound to arise sooner or later in connexion with any authoritative history of Western civilization. It is involved in the study of the legal evidence for the decision of many questions that must arise out of the causes and conduct of the War; and it is equally desirable that their actual nature and use should be carefully noted in connexion with a peaceful settlement of present or future differences between the nations.

Those who are concerned with the preservation and description of historical records are well aware of the necessity for a careful observation of their palaeographical and diplomatic features; for unless close attention is given to these indications the condition of defective documents cannot be systematically noted, gaps in the series cannot be filled, and adequate Lists or Indexes cannot possibly be provided for the use of students. Defective observation of the forms of documents is doubtless a bad habit of long standing and one that was formerly of common occurrence. There is still preserved at the Public Record Office, among the relics of the old Rolls House, the portrait of a Master of the Rolls¹ painted in the first half of the eighteenth century. It represents

¹ Sir George Jekyll (1717-38).

the eminent lawyer holding in his hand an original copy of Magna Carta, while volumes labelled 'Records of Judgments' stand on a table ready to his hand. But a glance will tell us that the 'Charter' is apocryphal, not only in respect of size and shape, but also from the appearance of the seal and the resemblance of the writing to the modern court hand. Even the books of Judgments have no counterparts among the judicial records of that or any other time, and it is evident that the artist simply evolved these counterfeit presentments from his inner consciousness.¹ In one particular, indeed, he erred less grossly than some later artists; for he has at least represented the charter as being authenticated by a seal and not by a signature. We are all familiar with the pictorial anachronism whereby King John is represented in the act of signing Magna Carta with a large quill pen, though this embellishment has gradually come to be regarded as a solecism.

We are, perhaps, indebted to photography, as the handmaid of an illustrated press, for a great advance in literary and historical realism, though the occasions on which records are pressed into its service are naturally few. The reproduction in the public press of the famous 'Scrap of Paper' itself was due to the impulse of political propaganda; but although certain clever people might have described the form and contents of the paper referred to, whether 'protocol' or 'ratification', none of them could have told us with certainty the original form of that memorable phrase. In such a predicament the evidence of documents was not yet available, and might even have proved ambiguous, if the point had not been promptly settled by oral evidence.² Even so, few of us would realize that while the term, in any language, is a fairly graphic description of a 'Protocol', it might be regarded as

¹ The only records connected with the Rolls Court to which the above title could have applied were certain Indexes to the Chancery Decree Rolls which are loosely described in the 1800 Report (p. 93) as 'Judgment Rolls'. These books, however, were kept in the clerk's office as his own property, and they may have been compiled later than the time of Sir G. Jekyll.

² This interesting point was raised by a distinguished French medievalist (M. Charles Bémont), and its solution, through the courtesy of the Foreign Office and the late Sir Edward Goschen, was conveyed to him by the writer and was published in the *Revue Historique*, Jan.-Apr. 1915. Since this was written (1921) both the diplomatists have died and the problem, foreseen by M. Bémont, has been restated by the writer in the *Times* (27 May-5 July 1924).

having only a metaphorical application to a 'Ratification', on parchment, under the Great Seal, which was, of course, the final and authoritative form of an international treaty.¹

It is possible, indeed, that the inability of the untrained writer or reader to distinguish between the real and supposed facts in the making of the national history may be partly due to want of opportunity for visualizing the sources. The importance of the original sources is not generally understood, because the public cannot appreciate the value of a national treasure that is neither properly displayed nor adequately described. Our unequalled archives have received far less attention than the relatively mediocre collections exhibited in our art galleries and museums. When the acquisition or loss of a famous picture is in question, public interest is at once aroused, but one 'scrap of paper' seems much like another to those who have never realized the significance of a series of contemporary records of the national life reaching back to the Anglo-Saxon period.

In our own time intending researchers who have had no practical experience of archives can receive much valuable assistance from the descriptions to be found in the recent literature of the subject. As a rule, however, they have derived their knowledge of historical documents from source-books or single texts which do not help them to visualize the several types of records or manuscripts. Only some forty years ago there were comparatively few historical students or antiquarians who could have identified a document produced to them as an 'original', 'draft', 'copy', 'counterpart', 'exemplification', 'enrolment', or 'entry-book'; still fewer who could have recognized the

¹ The independence of Belgium was defined by a treaty of separation based on 24 Articles which were approved on 14 October 1831, and signed by the plenipotentiaries of the five Great Powers and Belgium on 15 November 1831. As, however, the kingdom of the Netherlands refused to accept the Articles, and as Russia, Austria, and Prussia declined to enforce their acceptance, England and France concluded a convention (22 October 1832) for the purpose of carrying out the guarantee expressed in the Articles. Holland did not actually give way till 1839, when the Articles were accepted and annexed to a Treaty, signed 19 April 1839, by which the independence of Belgium was guaranteed by the Great Powers. By annexing the Articles of 1831 to the Treaty of April 1839, the Powers practically revived the Treaty of 1831, and completed the same by the acceptance of Holland signified in a separate treaty with Belgium. In default of that acceptance the Treaty of 1831 had practically remained 'a Scrap of Paper' till 1839. From that date it has been represented by a formal record, engrossed on parchment and authenticated by the royal signatures, ministerial counter-signatures, and the Great Seals of the countries which interchanged the Ratifications of 1839.

significance of Domesday Book and its satellites, or the distribution of the manuscript texts of the Great Charter of Liberties. Even now, many local students are unfamiliar with the nature of the documents cited by them, and would find it difficult to state correctly in what form particular documents would be found in the archives.

The importance of this practical aspect of the matter is exemplified by the general procedure in respect of printed books; for we find the distinction between 'folios', 'octavos', 'quartos', and 'duodecimos' precise and helpful. All librarians are familiar with the style of 'black-letter' and the form of 'broadsides'; while they can realize the significance of such devices as 'rubrics' and 'colophons'. In the same way, therefore, it will be found useful to distinguish between 'Rolls' and 'Books', 'Files' and 'Bundles', 'Membranes' and 'Folios'; while it is equally desirable to identify such closely related types of records as 'Charters' and 'Writs', 'Entry-Books' and 'Letter-Books', 'Indentures' and 'Deed Polls'. For this purpose a knowledge of the materials and procedure used in the preparation of the documents is obviously required; that is to say, we must know the several uses of parchment, vellum, and paper in the construction of documents; also the various forms of the documents that are described in Lists and Indexes and produced by means of definite references.¹

The characteristic features of manuscript documents in archives which distinguish them from other historical sources in the shape of printed documents in Libraries and archaeological exhibits in Museums, together with the methods of research with which they are associated, are set forth in textbooks and expounded in post-graduate courses for the instruction of historical students and archivists. This is not the place for a discussion of academic problems connected with the relationships of certain classes of Records.² Intimate descriptions of the nature and use

¹ For further discussion of these distinctions see above, p. 299, and below, p. 327.

² Instances of the difficulties that may be caused by an empirical definition of certain classes of Public Records are furnished by the late Mr. L. O. Pike's communication to the Public Record Commissioners (1914 Report, Appx. (III), p. 164). The danger of a classification by outward form is seen in the statement printed in the official List of Plea Rolls that the List 'includes all the Plea Rolls preserved in the Public Record with the exception of Pleas of the Forest'.

of early records, however attractive to individual researchers, cannot be attempted in a general survey. Many theories on this subject have been broached in recent times and maintained with much acuteness and learning ; but our knowledge of the administrative functions of the medieval state or of the social conditions of medieval society does not as yet permit a definite reconstruction of these primitive archives ; and the sweeping destruction of subsidiary documents has increased the difficulties of the task. Several valuable and instructive essays on this obscure subject have already appeared, and its elucidation is in good hands. It may be possible, some day, to reconstruct the proprietary classification of our Public Records. In the meantime we have the opportunity of noting the construction and composition of the existing documents, which can be utilized for the purpose of a provisional classification with some approach to scientific precision.

THE FORMS OF DOCUMENTS

The ‘ science of Archives ’, like any other science, requires an exact knowledge of terminology for its intelligent study. There is perhaps no more striking instance of the unsatisfactory methods of study which have hitherto prevailed than the casual and erratic descriptions of the documents themselves. Each of these is a unit which represents a well-defined class of documents, with recognized sub-divisions, and there is an exact and appropriate terminology for each of these types ; but historians and antiquaries do not always take the trouble to give correct titles to the respective classes. Again, the external form of the documents will frequently serve as an indication of their contents. The whole class of Charters and Deeds, for example, is remarkably uniform, while its persistent use and general distribution are very noticeable. The formula of a royal charter had become purely conventional in the thirteenth century, and the covenants of many medieval deeds would be almost as familiar to a modern solicitor’s clerk as they would have been to a medieval scrivener.

These original charters or deeds are usually written on one side only of single pieces of parchment, oblong or square in shape, with the bottom margin folded to bear the weight of the seal and

the top margin cut straight in a Deed Poll or in a wavy line for an Indenture. This charter form may be contrasted with that of the Writ, a narrower piece of parchment without a marginal fold to sustain the weight of the seal which is carried instead on a strip cut along the bottom margin to within a short distance of the left edge, with a filament cut below this seal-bearing strip to serve as a band for securing the seal inside the folded writ. In later times, indeed, the charter, especially the Indenture, may require a full-sized membrane, or more than one, for the engrossing of its contents. Single pieces of parchment were also used for other types of diplomatic documents, such as treaties, letters, petitions, certificates, receipts, and all the other sheets of parchment or paper that are commonly known as 'deeds' or 'correspondence', and which are still more familiarly described as 'Documents' or 'Papers'.

The types of diplomatic documents mentioned above, with others, display a distinct tendency in the direction of uniformity of size and shape, while the material used is in most cases parchment. This was probably the result of the official practice of filing all such documents as writs or warrants, which had been issued and returned into the Chancery or the Courts of Common Law; for long and narrow strips of parchment could be most easily and conveniently put away in the form of a thick wad.¹ When the return to a writ of inquiry was an extensive one it could no longer be indorsed upon the writ itself but was written on a schedule attached to the writ. In the medieval period these returns might take the form of small rolls or even of odds and ends of parchment; but in course of time voluminous returns were made on full-sized membranes and were put away in 'bundles'.

The bulk of these loose documents was still further increased by the departmental expansions of the Chancery, Wardrobe, and Household with the increasing judicial activities of the Exchequer and Courts of Common Law, supplemented by new tribunals, during the Tudor and early Stuart periods. In this connexion we have to reckon with an immense mass of documents in the nature

¹ It must be remembered that most of the old Files of the Chancery and other departments have now been broken up and their contents rearranged. In some cases they have survived intact, e. g. Certificates for Statute Staple, &c.

of 'Judicial Proceedings', 'Depositions', 'Accounts', 'Vouchers', and other 'subsidiary records'.

From the fifteenth century onwards the extent and scope of these documentary collections have been increased by the use of paper as the material for judicial departmental and domestic writings of a subsidiary or informal character, such as drafts, duplicates of Correspondence, Accounts, and Judicial Proceedings. Besides these, however, a new type of document appears, the 'Papers of State', in the shape of single or double, folio or quarto, sheets of paper. This was chiefly used in the composition of Secretarial and Departmental Correspondence, comprising News letters and Intelligence transmitted for the information of various officials. In its original state this correspondence was folded as delivered to the persons addressed and is still preserved in this condition in the case of documents exhibited in the Chancery;¹ but the State Papers and Departmental Records are now best known to us as unfolded sheets, some of which have been mounted on guards and bound as volumes, while a larger proportion has been merely 'flattened' and made up into parcels wrapped in brown paper.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries many original papers, formerly kept in files or bundles, were bound in volumes; and some hundreds of bundles of earlier correspondence have been bound in recent times in connexion with the preparation of Calendars or Lists.² This series of original papers bound in volumes must not be confused with the Entry Books or Registers referred to below; for, strictly speaking, they are only the contents of bundles or files of papers mounted in book-form. Similarly parchment documents have been bound or mounted in books and albums. This method of preservation is preferred by archivists, and especially by librarians. It is doubtless preferable to the old departmental practice of filing folded papers between oak boards,³ but one disadvantage is the difficulty of bringing

¹ e. g. the Darrell, Stonor, and Cely Papers among the Ancient Correspondence and Miscellanea of the Chancery (see the editions of the last two by Messrs. Malden and Kingsford in the Camden 3rd Series). The Perwich Correspondence amongst the State Papers Foreign (1674-7), published some years ago by the Royal Historical Society, was found in an unopened state.

² Besides the State Papers which have been calendared there are also a few volumes of original documents mounted on guards.

³ e. g. Navy Board Papers, seventeenth to eighteenth centuries.

documents together in the proper form of arrangement. For this reason, and on the score of expense, cardboard box-files, known as 'Cartons', are largely used abroad. The loose documents filed in these boxes may be kept in position by a spring.¹

In a few instances single Parchment Documents or Papers have been specially preserved in wooden 'skippets',² rushen hanapers, and leather bags or wallets,² or even bound in covers. The bound volumes of Foreign Treaties form a distinctive and imposing series extending back to the sixteenth century. These documents, however, usually comprise several folios.³ The briefer medieval Treaty Papers are usually found as single documents.

In point of bulk, the loose parchment and paper documents which have been thus filed, bundled, or mounted on guards must have occupied considerably more space in the pre-Victorian archives than those which had been enrolled or entered in Registers and other Books of Remembrance; for besides files or bundles and loose pieces, a large residue of unsorted documents were placed in sacks and bins. During the last hundred years, however, the original files and bundles have been frequently broken up, and a large part of their contents have been disposed of as 'valueless records'.⁴ In this connexion it should be observed that very many of them are drafts or duplicates of documents that have been formally enrolled or fair-copied in departmental 'Entry Books', in which the writing is usually abbreviated, the spacing close, and blank spaces comparatively rare.⁵ But whatever their true proportion may be, Rolls and Entry Books figure very prominently among the contents of the Archives, and the former have received more attention than any other class of Public Records.⁶

¹ See 1912 Report, p. 23, and Appx., p. 133.

² e. g. 'Acknowledgements of Supremacy' (Exchequer, T. of R.) and 'Deeds of Surrender' (Exchequer, Aug. O.). For all questions relating to archive economy, reference to the researches of Mr. Hilary Jenkinson is of course essential.

³ The protocols are identical and reciprocal. The Ratifications are represented by enrolments interchanged by the several signatories; cf. above, p. 314.

⁴ See p. 28.

⁵ It is true that much space is wasted in some of the miscellaneous Books of Remembrance; but far less than in respect of the bottom margins and fly-leaves of loose documents, which for the most part are only written on one side.

⁶ In point of form, these Rolls are of two kinds: (1) 'Headed Rolls' affected by the courts of Common Law, in which the component membranes are clamped together at

It is evident that the practice of recording documents or accounts in Rolls is analogous to that of entering the same in Books, though more than one difference in respect of form and material is observable. Thus in the medieval period both Rolls and the folios of Books are usually constructed with parchment; but from the sixteenth century onwards the folios of the great majority of Entry Books are of paper;¹ while, with few exceptions, parchment continued to be used for official enrolments.² At the same time we notice a decided tendency for Books to take the place of Rolls, especially in the Chancery and Exchequer and in the new tribunals of the post-medieval period which, like the Chancery itself, had some affinities with the courts of Civil and Canon Law.³ In all of these we find Decrees and Orders, Acts

the top margin and also protected by an outer cover of thick parchment or vellum with a conspicuous inscription of the title; (2) 'Continuous Rolls' in which the successive membranes are sewn together end to end, and closely rolled, with a thick outer membrane, which also serves as a cover on which the title may be indicated. Between the two is the 'Rotulet' or *Parvus Rotulus*, consisting of a single membrane shaped and written in the style of a roll; but such rolls were mostly used for temporary or subsidiary purposes and should perhaps be included among single documents (e. g. 'Escrows' and 'Quietuses' in the nature of formal certificates of States of official accounts. Private deeds were occasionally enrolled in *Parvi Rotuli*). The normal purpose of a roll was to serve as an official enrolment of individual instruments or of judicial proceedings. In connexion with the former class of records we have such well-known series of enrolments as Charter, Patent, and Close Rolls, each of which represents a distinct diplomatic type. The last two series are supplemented by various specialized series of instruments bearing departmental or subject titles, such as the Foreign or Treaty Rolls, Fine Rolls, Originalia Rolls, &c. In some cases legislative or judicial proceedings are recorded, as in the Parliament Rolls, Recognizance and Redisseisin Rolls; while the rolls which record fiscal proceedings in the Exchequer form an extensive and remarkably continuous series. There are also statutory enrolments like the Memorial Rolls of Annuities; the political Oath Rolls; the professional Admissions of Attornies and Solicitors and Enclosure Awards, Tithe Apportionments, and Railway Schemes. Finally there are isolated enrolments made as precedents like certain of the 'Miscellaneous Rolls' of courts or departments, 'Extract Rolls', 'Writ Rolls', and special compilations, such as the 'Ragman Roll', the 'Ladies' Roll', and 'Watson's Roll', with some others which no longer exist, e. g. 'Brangwin's Roll' (cited by Coke, 4 Instit., p. 2) and possibly the 'Contrariants' Roll' (*ibid.*). In each of the above instances some original instrument or textual process was recorded; but the Judicial Proceedings enrolled in the Courts of Common Law consist of conventional pleadings, the originals of which are purely subsidiary documents in the shape of 'Paper Pleadings', or merely the official minutes endorsed on the Original and Judicial Writs. For examples of the process of constructing records of pleadings see Formula Book, Part II, p. 213 sq., and cf. W. S. Holdsworth, *History of English Law*, vol. III, pp. 359 sq. Original instruments may, however, be *recited* in the body of the Pleadings, or even enrolled for remembrance, especially in an early period. Valuable observations on this subject have been recently published by Mr. H. G. Richardson.

¹ There are noticeable exceptions, where official formalities were observed.

² For special purposes (e. g. Exchequer 'Port Books' and Parish Registers) parchment might be required by an official ordinance.

³ In the Admiralty and Ecclesiastical Courts subsidiary proceedings are also entered in Books, and this practice partially obtains in the Chancery and Exchequer.

and Sentences recorded in Books. In the Exchequer, again, the ancient series of Receipt and Issue Rolls is replaced by Books from the same date, and the Treaty Rolls of the Chancery have been superseded by the King's Letter Books from the seventeenth century onwards.¹

Reference has already been made to the material used for the writing in these books, which present a great variety of forms. In most of them the wooden boards are covered with leather, which is rarely stamped or ornamented. From the sixteenth century onwards the books are bound in vellum or calf, and the several classes are partially indicated by the style of the binding.² The title may be descriptive of the outward appearance of a book, as 'White', 'Red', and 'Black', or of their contents, as 'King's Silver Books', 'Wood Books', 'Irish Books', 'Warrant Books', 'Ledger Books', 'Cause Books', 'Writ Books', and 'Memorandum Books'. Sometimes the old title is misleading, for 'Paper Books' were files of pleadings, and the 'Guard Books' of the Palace Court were the Orderly Books of the St. James and St. Andrews volunteers. Indeed, generally, the titles on the backs of Entry Books are less precise and instructive than the inscriptions on Rolls, especially when a short title used by departmental clerks has been supplied by the modern binder. The same remark applies to the descriptive titles of bound volumes of original papers.

Methods of storing documents in the older archives of Europe offer little suggestion to the reforming mind of the modern administrator who is intent upon the introduction of modern

¹ Like enrolments, the Entry Books include divers types, from copies of Charters, Accounts, and Pleadings to 'Miscellaneous Books' and certain special or ephemeral forms; but it should be observed that not all of these can be regarded as official copies. The officers of the Courts of Law were careful to insist on a distinction between records which could be officially certified (such office copies began with the word 'Constat' which has been used as a title for the class), and semi-official or deposited documents which might only be 'exemplified'. The former included Decree and Order Books and other judicial registers, and the latter apparently comprised Precedent Books, Treatises, and most State Papers or Departmental Records, as well as cartularies and other copies of diplomatic documents.

² The characteristic binding, especially of the Exchequer volumes, is plain soft leather shielded by brass bosses and with pendent flaps to protect the edges of the leaves. Sometimes the hair was left on the leather (*Liber Pilosus* and the 'Rough Coat' Books). The modern substitute for leather in the shape of 'calf' is of course far inferior to vellum, which was unfortunately less freely used. In some cases no cover at all was used or only a parchment cover. The Exchequer Port Books are a good example in point.

mechanical devices. But the student of archive economy should pause a moment to look back over the varied methods that have been employed, in order the better to realize the need of applying more than temporary expedients in the solution of this central problem of archive economy. In Britain it is a history not without the quaint charm of antiquary research. We have seen that documents were formerly preserved in Files, Bundles, Bags, and Boxes, and all these methods of storage are still employed. The system of filing records is to some extent a substitute for enrolment, as may be seen in the Feet of Fines, the Chancery Files, and the Indictments or other records of criminal proceedings. In the case of Fines relating to the transfer of land, several subsidiary documents were filed, with some risk of loss or fraud, and the Files continued to be made up till 1834. The system of filing Original or Judicial Writs and Warrants for issue of the Great or Smaller Seals originated in the twelfth century and represents a general system of official registration which was not well defined in this country.¹ The Files of Indictments among the criminal records of the Assizes and Quarter Sessions are also known as 'Sessions Rolls', but this is due to the practice of bending the files into the shape of a roll in order to protect the face of the documents from dust.² The same treatment has been frequently applied to bundles of documents; but in well-appointed archives both Files and Bundles would now be protected by canvas wrappers, and when their contents have been distributed these have usually been flattened and placed in portfolios.

Bags, as such, are rarely produced in the Search Rooms of Archives,³ and such classical examples as the Petty Bag, the

¹ The conventional writs by which a lawsuit was originated and maintained were to be found in precedent books and, with the pleadings endorsed on the writ, were enrolled in the Plea Rolls of the Courts as well as separately in Controlment and Memoranda Rolls. Warrants and Letters under the Smaller Seals were registered in Entry Books; but these were apparently of a semi-official character. Well-known instances occur in the case of the Registers of the Black Prince and of John of Gaunt and some registers published in the Rolls Series. It cannot be proved that such registers existed in England as a series, though they have been preserved in Scotland. There were also Precedent Books containing select entries. For an elucidation of the English Chancery system of filing and enrolment we must await the publication of important researches by Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte.

² 1919 Report, Part II, p. 2 n.

³ Minute but ancient specimens of deerskin record pouches containing vouchers and warrants are still occasionally found amongst the 'Ministers' Accounts'.

County Bag, and the *Baga de Secretis* survive only in name ; for the Record Bag has fallen into disuse while the Brief Bag has survived. These, with Sacks, Chests, and like receptacles, form part of the historical *impedimenta* of the archives and have been mentioned elsewhere in this work.¹

An interesting feature of their devolution is seen in the use of mill-board boxes which now contain many of the fragile contents of the disused bags ; whilst japanned deed-boxes are largely used in departmental and local archives, where they are frequently in evidence.²

FORMS OF RECORDS IN KINDRED ARCHIVES

The foregoing remarks on the forms and materials of English Public Records will apply with equal force to Scottish and Irish records, with fresh examples ; but here, as in the English archives, the multitude of documents that has perished from various causes increases the uncertainty of any attempt to describe their typical forms. However, now that we are able for the first time to compare the titles and forms of the English, Scottish, and Irish Records from published *Guides*, such a comparison would doubtless elucidate many obscurities of the national practice in one country or another.

We should find that the procedure of the Scottish Chancery, Courts of Justice, and public Registries differs considerably from that which prevailed in the sister kingdoms ; and the outward form of the national records bears evidence of this divergence. In place of extensive series of notarial or judicial enrolments we find an elaborate system of registration in Entry Books³ under such primitive titles as Registers of Titles, Sasines, Tailzies, Tainds, &c., together with Entry Books of Acts and Decrees, Minute or *Sederunt* Books, and many others. Even the 'Rolls' of the Court of Sessions are Books, as we now find them ; but though Rolls are rarely seen there are numerous files or bundles of writs, warrants, precepts, and Cause Papers of various kinds

¹ p. 125 sq.

² As in the Royal Courts of Justice ; cf. 1914 Report, Appx. (II), p. 134.

³ The Exchequer Rolls are a notable exception. There are also Rolls of the Court of Sessions and traces of other medieval series of enrolments. As the Scottish medieval records were dispersed by Edward I and afterwards by Cromwell, it is possible that other early series of enrolments may have been replaced by Registers during the Tudor period.

with parchment and paper documents in portfolios or bound up in volumes.¹

In Ireland, on the other hand, the administrative and judicial system was closely modelled on English institutions whose records are faithfully reproduced in form as well as title. Here then we have a large proportion of Rolls alternating with Books, Files, and Bundles, as well as a large collection of single documents.

The Archives of the Channel Islands, Dominions, and Crown Colonies, being for the most part of comparatively modern date, consist, generally, of books and loose papers, including registers of title-deeds. Even the Office of the Rolls for the Isle of Man provides few exceptions to this rule,² and the same remark applies to the extra-territorial Archives of British Embassies and Legations. It will be noticeable, however, that these overseas Archives furnish a greater variety of forms in respect of the size of the books or bundles and the texture and colour of the bindings than is found in native collections.

TYPES OF WAR RECORDS

Diversity of form will again be apparent when the Archives of the World War of 1914-19 are thrown open for inspection; but this is largely due to special circumstances and requirements. In fact the tendency of Public Offices during the last fifty years has been in the direction of uniformity. Rolls and Books have been largely dispensed with and their place has been taken by Files or 'Dossiers' of original documents in the shape of folio sheets of Correspondence or Reports which have been dealt with by means of duplication or by Minutes and Memoranda. In many cases textual Reports are dispensed with by a variety of ingenious forms, and the whole contents of the Archives may consist of Dossiers of regular size enclosed in a stout paper 'jacket' upon which the official action taken is annotated. Even the Minute Books and Register Books, which for a long time continued to be regarded as an indispensable part of the equipment of the Registries, are fast disappearing, their place being taken by 'loose-leaved' records and by card indexes. On the other hand the Archives of the War comprise a number of special and

¹ Cf. Livingstone, *Guide (passim)*.

² 1914 Report, Appx. (II), pp. 72-3.

possibly abnormal types which have not been constructed on the old conventional lines. Indeed the history of military and naval operations must necessarily be illustrated by many objects as well as by documents, and the latter too are represented by a certain proportion of abnormal forms. This, however, was inevitable and, after all, the records do not take final shape until they have been handed over to the archivist, into whose hands the strategic records of the Boer War have not yet come.

TYPES OF LOCAL RECORDS

In the case of the Local Records of the United Kingdom the above consideration has even greater force; while, in England at least, documents are not concentrated in central depots.¹ Generally, we are concerned here with the records in the custody of local authorities, civil or ecclesiastical, county, urban, and parochial, together with various Public Institutions and Private Collections. Naturally, this diversity of provenance and custody makes any attempt to define the characteristic forms of the existing documents a matter of considerable difficulty. Again, owing to the lack of adequate lists, such a statement must be largely based on personal observation. Taking the several structural types of documents in order, we should find that there is a preponderance of original or loose documents over those inrolled or copied into Entry Books. We should also find that except in public libraries and some private collections, original documents are less frequently bound in book form than is the case in the central Archives of the State; that Files are well represented in respect of Judicial Proceedings; that Bundles have not the same technical character as before. Bags and Chests are represented only by sacks and packing-cases or bins for the storage of unsorted records.

It is needless to state that the original and loose documents exhibit many different forms and relate to every period of the national history during the last three centuries.

The material employed depends partly on the antiquity of the collection and also on the nature of the documents. Thus a

¹ This centralization is, however, found to some extent in both Scotland and Ireland, as well as in the British Dominions and Colonies.

few Public Libraries and Private Collections may contain writings on papyrus; the use of parchment will prevail in all medieval collections and paper in those of later date. At the same time parchment will continue to be used for charters and for most of the judicial records of inferior courts: also frequently for documents inrolled or deposited under various statutes.

Amongst documents of local provenance Judicial Pleadings may be recorded in the form of Rolls or Books with a large residuum of subsidiary proceedings in the form of loose parchment and paper documents; but the class of documents has suffered grievous losses from the want of continuous official custody. Mention has been made already of the important series of Quarter Sessions Records known as Indictments or Sessions Rolls.

Books are largely used in connexion with the administrative functions of the Justices and Town Councillors, and the Registers of several Town Councils bear quaint descriptive titles.¹ Books appear again as the characteristic form of ecclesiastical records including those of Consistory Courts, though Rolls are plentifully represented among the muniments of the Bishoprics and Chapters, while the Parish Records consist mainly of Registers with an accumulation of loose documents.

We should naturally expect to find a greater variety of documentary forms in the archives of Public Institutions, Learned Societies, Professional Corporations, and Private Collections, and here once more we meet with Rolls and Books, and all the other types that are found in the State Archives.

It would be tedious to go over the same ground in a review of the general forms of the local records that are found in the sister kingdoms and overseas dominions of the British Empire. It would seem that these records are not inrolled to any appreciable extent and that registration in Entry Books is of general occurrence, while by far the larger proportion of the documents are original papers stored in files or, more rarely, bound in volumes. For example, it would be found that the Diocesan Records in Ireland and the Commissariat Records in Scotland have a general resemblance to English types.

In conclusion, it is perhaps scarcely necessary to observe that

¹ e. g. 'Dormont Book', 'Lockt Book', 'Doomsday Book', &c.

this chapter was intended to be merely suggestive, and that it makes no serious attempt to deal with a subject which would require a separate volume for its adequate discussion. Indeed, it would scarcely have been necessary to vindicate the importance of a feature of the documentary sources that is fairly obvious, but for the tendency during recent years to omit these specifications in a synopsis of the Archives. So far, however, from proving useless or uninteresting, the subject is one that might be studied more closely with advantage to all concerned.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE USE OF RECORDS AS HISTORICAL SOURCES

Methods and Means of Historical Study — Historical Sources and Literature — Branches of Historical Study — Oral Traditions and Ancient Monuments — The Functions of Museums — Auxiliary Studies of History — Historical Documents — Directories of the Sources — Subjects of Historical Study — The Study of Recent and Contemporary History — Later Historical Sources — Improved Methods of Study — Progress of Foreign Post-Graduate Study — Prospects of the Study of War Records.

THE assertion that a greater diversity of opinion exists as to what History really is, than as to what is really History, might seem to savour both of parable and paradox ; but stated in plain terms, how many scholars are agreed upon a definition of historical study or of historical facts ? To some History is a concrete force, to others an abstract theory ; to some it means past politics, and to others philosophy. Many more regard it as a branch of the fine art of Literature. By not a few it is associated with some archaeological hobby. Finally, a very few seem to regard it as a science to be applied to the discovery and interpretation of the documents which are the source of most historical facts.

METHODS AND MEANS OF HISTORICAL STUDY

Perhaps this definition of historical study will explain why students of historical science are in a clear minority. ‘ Facts ’ which have been accepted by a recognized authority are seldom disputed : they continue to be regarded as facts until they have been disproved by some later authority. They are the framework of the History that we are making every day, and remaking, from time to time, in order to bring it into harmony with the latest political, economic, or social theory. Moreover, our own methods of investigation must affect the study of History generally. In taking stock of the original sources, we are apt to omit from our calculations some that do not directly concern the history of our own country, forgetting that an intelligent study of any

national history involves recourse to the archives and museums of contemporary States. This method of study, indeed, is as necessary in the case of individual nations as it would be in that of Federal States. There are many aspects of our national history that we cannot treat exhaustively, or even in a scholarly way, without reference to foreign archives; just as foreign historians have occasion to consult similar aspects of the British sources.

At the same time it does not follow that the historical sources that are to be found in the archives of any one country refer exclusively to national history. Our own archives, for example, comprise a large number of important sources of certain ancient Kingdoms and of some later States which no longer exist, as well as for various subjects of cosmopolitan interest. On the whole, we should find that the sources of Ancient and Medieval History have been studied in common by modern nations; but this statement applies to literary or religious sources, such as chronicles, poems, letters, and treatises, rather than to State records which have always had a more or less distinctive character, and which have usually remained in official custody. But whatever branch of historical knowledge the historian proposes to study, he may have occasion to pursue his researches either in British or Foreign archives, or in both.

Indeed, this distribution of the manuscript sources may be regarded as subsidiary to that of printed books. When a document has been published, it is made accessible to readers of all nations. From this point of view, it is only the accident of non-publication that gives it a national character.¹ An unpublished document cannot be placed in a foreign student's hands, but must be inspected *in situ*, or recourse must be had to a reproduction. We know that organized attempts have been made, in most countries, to meet such requirements by means of official series of transcripts, and even of facsimiles.² It will be seen,

¹ See also above, p. 54. It is true that many documents, chiefly literary and religious manuscripts, were duplicated or even multiplied at an early date, and copies have been widely distributed; but these may be of unequal value and need to be collated or at least examined.

² As to the dispatch of manuscripts on loan to students, in special cases, see 1912 Report, Appx. (III), p. 135. A serious proposal for the reproduction of the National Archives in facsimile was submitted by the late Mr. B. F. Stevens some thirty years ago.

therefore, that a clear distinction must be made between printed and unprinted sources ; this distinction being further accentuated by the disparity between the two classes in respect of extent ; for it might be safely asserted that more than two-thirds of the existing sources are still unpublished or imperfectly described. Moreover, it cannot be assumed that the unpublished documents will remain available for inspection by the student who is prepared to make a longer or shorter journey for that purpose ; for, as we have seen, a marked distinction may exist between several types of documents in respect of accessibility.¹

Now though the world-wide distribution of the printed sources affords welcome facilities to students, it does not follow that every printed version will be easily discovered. Even when an adequate bibliography exists, its perusal proves an irksome discipline to many, and this difficulty is increased by the obscurity and inadequacy of current and periodical catalogues. Possibly, too, we are somewhat apt to ignore the published results of other researchers in their own field of study. For the most part, however, neglect of the printed sources is due to an obsession in respect of 'original research' ; although the non-publication of documents should be regarded as a common misfortune and their publication or description as a common duty.

HISTORICAL SOURCES AND LITERATURE

These Sources, which have been likened to running springs, might perhaps with more exactness be regarded as mines from which treasure can only be delved with considerable toil ; while the rough ore must be refined by a further process of research. Naturally this drudgery has furnished an excuse for the selection of those Sources that are richer and more easily won than others ; and the choice, in turn, has encouraged an unsystematic method of study. Moreover, methods of research are largely influenced by the nature of the subject. For some purposes, only printed Sources will be required ; for others the unprinted Sources will be essential.

The 'Literature of the Sources' is usually distinguished in Bibliographies from the so-called 'Original Sources'. On the

¹ As to this contingency see above, Chaps. XIV and XV.

one hand we have the Texts, Calendars, Indexes, Lists, and Guides : on the other hand the treatises, dissertations, or essays dealing with historical subjects. A large proportion of this Literature is necessarily of a didactic nature ; and it is too often dogmatic rather than suggestive in its method of instruction. The scope of the ' Sources ' and ' Literature ' alike has been usually indicated by the device of subject-headings, co-ordinated in a bibliographical and chronological arrangement. Here the ' Instruments of Historical Research ', the ' Auxiliaries to Historical Study ', and the ' Modern Writers ' are distinguished from the ' Original Sources ', including both printed and unprinted documents. The conventional treatment of these Sources in our Bibliographies and Guides is chiefly concerned with their potential value as historical Literature, and the result is a medley of concrete and abstract, relative, and correlative titles.

BRANCHES OF HISTORICAL STUDY

The most scientific and comprehensive analysis of the Sources at large can, perhaps, be obtained by using the old divisions which represent the Constitutional, Political, Economic, Social, Ecclesiastical, Naval, Military, Legal, Local, and other interests or activities of the community. To these ' Institutional History ' might well be added as a new title, to indicate a neglected and important subject of historical interest. This would embrace an extensive and largely unworked field of sources among the muniments of commercial, professional, and learned corporations or associations. To some extent, also, it would cover the ground that must some day be occupied by scholarly histories of the Arts, Crafts, and Sciences. It must not be assumed, however, that a distinct series of Original Sources exists for particular subjects. In the case of both printed and unprinted Sources certain classes of documents would be found of special or even of exclusive value for the study of them all ; but, generally, the Original Sources furnish a common stock of historical information.

Once more, however, stress must be laid on the fact that there is no more virtue in Original Sources unpublished, than would be manifest in scholarly texts. The glamour of old parchment and russet ink has often led to the neglect of printed materials, and

this broadening of the phylacteries may easily give an air of pedantry to earnest scholarship.

ORAL TRADITIONS AND ANCIENT MONUMENTS

The documents with which we are here concerned are not the only 'Original Sources' that are available for historical study. The use of the written word as a source of historical information is obvious; but the value of the spoken word is often overlooked, though it is familiar to us in the form of oral evidence.¹ This may perhaps be regarded as an extraneous source of historical information and one which cannot be properly utilized until it is recorded in documentary form. But this spoken testimony is the earliest of our official sources, and to a large extent it formed the basis of judicial records. The depositions of the French and Belgian refugees in 1914 have, in our own time, provided a series of State Papers of great importance.

A third group of Sources is distinguished from oral and written evidence by its material form. The ancient monuments, archaeological collections, and other historical remains that have survived from earlier times naturally possess an exceptional interest and importance, since they enable us to visualize the descriptions of economic and social conditions given in historical documents. They may also supplement the documents, in particular cases, and they stand almost alone as sources for the 'prehistoric' period. But there are other landmarks that may be of material assistance to the historian who seeks to supplement the evidence of documents. There are hills, valleys, moors, forests, rivers, and marshes which still remain as silent but faithful witnesses of many eventful scenes in the drama of a nation's history;² and for the interpretation of their evidence, there are appropriate sources among the Auxiliary Studies, as well as information in the Archives.

THE FUNCTIONS OF MUSEUMS

The Museum, with which the study of these nature records is associated, occupies a definite position in the scheme of national

¹ Cf. Sir C. W. C. Oman in *Wellington's Army*, pp. 25-6, and *Transactions Roy. Hist. Soc.*, 4th Ser., vol. i, p. 359.

² Physical features wrought by man, such as roads and watercourses, may also furnish historical landmarks.

culture as the repository of scientific and archaeological exhibits which must be regarded as 'objects' in distinction to 'documents'. Half-way between the two come the products of Art, which may be separately displayed in 'galleries'. The written 'documents', as we have seen, are everywhere preserved in two distinct repositories; official documents, in the shape of Records and State Papers, being found in Archives, and literary manuscripts, with printed books, in Libraries. Naturally a certain admixture or interchange of these elements is observable; but Museums, Archives, and Libraries may be conveniently distinguished by the above-mentioned characteristics. At the same time the official titles of certain institutions may be somewhat misleading. For example, the 'British Museum' actually connotes the 'National Library of England',¹ and the removal of the scientific exhibits to a Natural History Museum has enabled the administration to develop the archaeological and artistic collections. In the provinces the intermixing of exhibits representing the domains of Science, Art, Archaeology, History, and Literature in a single Museum is of frequent occurrence and is perhaps inevitable under existing circumstances.² Indeed, this circumstance furnishes a useful object-lesson as to the value of all these materials for a survey of the national history.

The collection and arrangement of historical objects in a Museum is, therefore, a matter of national importance; but, unfortunately, it is rarely carried out in an intelligent and methodical manner. All sorts of objects illustrating the social or economic life of a bygone age are collected by antiquaries and may find their way into a museum; but these salvaged specimens are not wholly satisfying. There is a better way in Natural Science, to reproduce a species in its environment, or to prevent its extinction by legislative precautions. Something has been done for the preservation of Ancient Monuments by means of national or private trusts, though these praiseworthy efforts of learned zeal or aesthetic sentiment are not co-ordinated. If regional surveys were carried out on a larger scale, they would reveal the survival of many interesting illustrations of our earlier economic and

¹ The National Library of Wales contains specimens of native Arts and Crafts in addition to Printed Books, Records, and Manuscripts.

² Instances will be found in the 1919 Report of the Public Records Commission.

social history. In course of time we might even hope to see a Ministry of Public Instruction preserving and maintaining specimens of the disused buildings and plant of world-famous industries, and such local monuments would be to countless thousands of working men and women an inspiring object-lesson of the dignity of national labour.

AUXILIARY STUDIES OF HISTORY

It would be found, however, that neither Tradition nor Archaeology is directly represented among the 'Original Sources' of our text-books, though the latter is well represented in the section devoted to the Auxiliary Studies of History. Among these Studies there are two that are especially helpful for the identification and description of the Sources. Each of them has its own literature and method of Study. Thus Palaeography is concerned with the method of deciphering and describing a document as it is presented to us in its material body, including the transcription of its contents, the determination of its date, nationality, authorship, and ownership, the style of writing or ornamentation, and a description of the materials employed in its construction, deduced from examination of the document itself and from investigation of its provenance. But we cannot learn all that there is to be learnt about a document from the study of Palaeography alone. For example, this does not enable us to describe certain documents adequately, to classify them correctly, to understand the significance of their formulas, to determine their authenticity or the motive of their execution. We must have recourse to the study of Diplomatic to enable us to interpret the significance which underlies the substance of the document.

All this is common knowledge ; but although Palaeography and Diplomatic between them, give us a very complete description of the document as it lies before us, they cannot tell us all that we want to know about its life history ; and particularly the part which it played in the domestic or official economy with which it is associated.¹

¹ Cf. above, pp. 264 and 274.

HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

For practical purposes the Original Sources comprise the authentic documents on which historical facts are chiefly based. An official classification of the documentary sources has not been produced in this country on any scientific plan,¹ but it would seem that they are contained in the following groups: ² (1) Public Records preserved in the Central State Archives and in numerous departmental repositories; many others having found their way into private institutions or private collections; (2) Documents of a public nature in the custody of local authorities, both civil and ecclesiastical; (3) Documents of a semi-public nature in the possession of academic or professional corporations and charitable trusts; (4) Private collections, whether inherited or 'made'.³

Whatever aspect of the national history is selected for serious study, one method of study only can be regarded as adequate. 'Pour écrire l'histoire,' we are told, 'il faut interroger les documents,'⁴ and this axiom has been applied to every period under study. We are fortunate indeed in respect of instructions for study; but we are less fortunate in respect of the documents that are available. In many cases these have disappeared; in other cases they are inaccessible or undescribed. Our historians have long since abandoned the hope of writing a final history of earlier times, but they seem less despondent in respect of a more recent period. The expectation, unfortunately, is scarcely justified. Our serious documentary losses in the past have been revealed by the reports of Commissions or Committees as well as by individual enterprise, and for more than a century past we have had a fair warning of the dangers that beset the manuscript materials of our unwritten national history. It would seem, indeed, that the last state of the records is worse than the first; and in this case our historians and their successors alike may be baffled by this depletion of the Archives. Such losses are all the more regrettable because many of these documents might have been published if permission had been given for their inspection.

¹ See above, p. 274 sq.

² For details of this classification see *Studies*, p. 111 sq.; *Repertory*, pp. vi, 161 sq.; and Second Report of Public Records Commission, Appx. (II), p. 87 sq.

³ H. Stein, *Bibliographie historique* (1902), p. 77.

⁴ 1912 Report, pp. 27-8; 1914 Report, pp. 83-4.

DIRECTORIES OF THE SOURCES

There are no comprehensive 'Guides' to the original sources of the United Kingdom such as have been compiled for some foreign countries.¹ It is especially to be regretted that no attempt has been made to co-ordinate the contents of the various Archives, Libraries, and Museums. The works available do not describe the distribution of the documents, and there is urgent need of a 'Directory' as well as a 'Classified List' of British Archives.² To some extent the lack of these essential works may be supplied by the forthcoming 'Bibliography of British Modern History', but a bibliography is only concerned incidentally with unprinted manuscripts. Its real business is to indicate the printed sources which exist for each of the recognized branches of historical study. A printed version of those historical facts is merely a convenient means of communicating them; it certainly does not justify the practice of taking the Original Sources for granted.

Many official reports and more treatises or essays have been compiled which deal by one method or another with the analysis of these Sources;³ but such publications do not individually or collectively present an adequate treatment of the subject. The reason is not far to seek. The officials of old who spent their lives in searching and describing the records of a single department in their own custody, were debarred by judicial custom and conflicting privileges from any serious attempt to describe the Archives as a whole or to co-ordinate their scattered contents. Moreover, such essays as have been published in this connexion are not only partial in their scope and unscientific in their method; they fail in most cases to supply the information that would now be regarded as essential for the identification of the records and the right understanding of their nature and use:⁴ for it is of great consequence to us to know the life-history of the records

¹ Above, pp. 254 and 307.

² As previously noted a *Repertory of British Archives* has recently been published by the Royal Historical Society. Attempts have been made to describe the nature and use of the Archives in several of the works mentioned in the Bibliography printed in an Appendix.

³ Above, p. 306 sq.

⁴ One of the best of these early expositions will be found on pp. iii-v of Sir T. Ayloffe's *Calendars of the Ancient Charters*. The author, though a well-informed and cultured scholar, only deals in generalities as to the nature and use of records.

together with the functions and procedure of the administrative departments with which they were associated from first to last.

The obstacles to scholarly research increased when the pretensions of State Archivists were aggravated by the precautions and economies of State Departments. In spite of the efforts of an improved administration, we are faced with the problem of a reconstruction of the Archives for which we receive little assistance from official records or traditions,¹ and for which we must resort to the methods employed by archaeologists and palaeontologists in reconstructing the remains of a bygone civilization or of an extinct species.

Perhaps for the time being we must be content to describe and use the existing sources as we find them ; and it is essential that no time should be lost in taking stock of the collections that remain to us.

SUBJECTS OF HISTORICAL STUDY

The lack of a definite policy in respect of our choice of subjects for historical study has naturally affected our use of the Sources. We choose for the purpose of research any aspect of the world-history that happens to attract us, with little regard for historical definitions or requirements. The history of England or of Japan, of London or of Antwerp, of Protestantism or of the drama ; all is fish for the net of the cosmopolitan student. This sentiment, indeed, has prevailed since the first age of historical writing. Chronicles *ab initio mundi* were much in favour with medieval historians, who eagerly found space for such stray notices of foreign events as came within their ken.

But even during the medieval period the makers of history, the statesmen and lawgivers, and the learned historiographers and doctors who looked over their shoulders, were beginning to confine their attention to national issues. And so we have the narratives of political acts, and stores of precedents culled from public or private Archives, while the pageants of history take the place of

¹ The existing medieval and post-medieval records have been used with great skill and success by many able scholars for this purpose ; but many problems remain to be solved and several fruitful sources (like the judicial records) have been strangely neglected. It is chiefly in respect of the post-Restoration records in which so many gaps remain unfilled that insuperable difficulties can be foreseen. This is due to causes that have been mentioned elsewhere in this work.

the marvels of nature. Then followed an age of international competition, of keen statesmanship and keener patriotism—an age of facts and figures, of treaty papers and political arithmetic. Statesmen were in many cases themselves expert antiquaries, or were, at least, versed in the precedents of their own departments. Naturally under such conditions historical study showed a tendency to follow purely national lines. Evidence of this fact is to be found in published texts and monumental treatises dealing with native institutions, upon which we have largely subsisted to the present day. With the readjustment of the European political system which followed the French Revolution, new historical interests and methods were pursued. The laborious study of national history by the light of antiquarian scholarship was to some extent replaced by casual studies in universal history, or by florid dissertations on national institutions. This diffuse historical method has done good service to the cause of literature and art ; but in the interests of political science some discrimination would seem to be needed.

In these days the study of national history is not immediately concerned with political or moral ideals. It is assumed that the single purpose of historical science is the discovery of truth ; but the question here is of our historical requirements. It is certain that no satisfactory study of Universal History can be pursued until the national histories have been exhaustively treated. It is equally certain that, without remarkable exertions and a scientific method of study, such treatment cannot be adopted.

Now, even if this country has not blocked the road to European students, a glance at the continental bibliographies will show that we lag far behind other nations in the exposition of our national sources. Our national facilities and local knowledge should have enabled us to accomplish this task more easily than the foreign scholars, who have already filled many notorious voids in our *Monumenta Britannica*, and incidentally in our historical equipment. It is true that in the last fifty years much has been done to perfect our study of the national history during the medieval period ; but beyond the Revolution there is a dearth of printed sources, while it is only within the last few years that the intermediate period has been adequately treated.

Finally, the history of the nineteenth century, so often 'written', has certainly not been based upon a complete examination of contemporary documents.

THE STUDY OF RECENT AND CONTEMPORARY HISTORY

The reason for this diversity of treatment is to be found partly in the proverbial unfitness of contemporary writers for dealing with the history of their own times, but still more in the poverty of their resources. The proper materials for the work are not always available and inferior substitutes have to be used. There is certainly no reason why good use should not be made of other sources of historical information besides formal documents. Indeed, the nature and use of these supplementary sources is fully appreciated by historians who find their profit in sifting the traditions, rumours, or daily gossip preserved in the form of oral evidence or ephemeral writings. It is evident, however, that such materials require careful handling; and this is not the end of the matter. Unfounded statements will be refuted by subsequent investigation; but the making of History may have been profoundly affected by their utterance; nor can it be otherwise when statesmen and politicians, scholars and publicists, the man in the street, and the woman in society speak or write daily without making any attempt to verify supposed historical facts.

This neglect of our historical resources is a matter of serious concern, for without knowledge and industry to discover and use the original sources, without courage and vision in sifting the conventional sources, an authentic history of our own times cannot be written.

LATER HISTORICAL SOURCES

Reference has been made in an earlier chapter ¹ to the national importance of the sources of our recent and contemporary History. More might be said as to the danger that is incurred through the misconception of their value, for many essential documents are inaccessible, while their survival and eventual publication are quite uncertain.

We have been assured, however, that there is a superabundance

¹ Chap. III.

of printed materials, and, therefore, little need for original researches in the Archives.

This observation is by no means exact. We have certainly a great wealth of printed sources, but it is a paper currency that is liable to depreciation; for even official prints cannot always be accepted at their face value. Moreover, these printed documents only represent a very small proportion of the original sources. Even for an earlier period documents are not always readily accessible; those for the later period have been withheld by the Departments of State or are largely in the hands of private owners.

This state of things is not profitable to the nation, nor is it helpful to the scholars who have undertaken the heavy task of writing our national history since the accession of Queen Victoria. For this purpose the 'original sources' seem to consist of printed official documents, with little hoards of State Papers that have slipped through the meshes of the archivists' nets and have been made available for reference in memoirs, biographies, and similar publications. To these may be added newspaper reports or other periodical matter, the bulk of which is regarded as an 'embarras de richesses'.

In point of quality, however, such sources leave something to be desired. Parliamentary returns and other Blue Books, which have been officially 'edited' for public consumption, are not 'documents' of the same value as the original records and State Papers of an earlier period or the critical texts in which these are reproduced. The 'British and Foreign State Papers' are less satisfying than the publications of the British and Foreign Bible Society. The unfortunate historian of the post-Georgian period must conceal the penury of his equipment with the decorous materials selected from Court archives, or even with the tarnished embroidery of some indiscreet recollections of State affairs. With these, truly, he makes a brave show; but an outfit like the 'Greville Memoirs' or the 'Letters of Queen Victoria' is not often provided by the public spirit of owners or by the enterprise of publishers.

It must be evident, indeed, that although there is an abundance of instructive sources for the history of the nineteenth century,

the official documents are not, after all, superfluous ; otherwise, why should they remain so jealously guarded ? It must not be supposed, however, that there is a complete agreement among historical scholars on this subject. It is generally admitted that the study of the period since 1815 has been neglected ; but the significance of the fact is interpreted in different ways. By some it is regarded as the inevitable result of the discouragements of the systematic study of the period by academic authorities and State Departments alike ; by others any hesitation in dispensing with the evidence of the original sources is regarded as pure fastidiousness. Now this is simply begging the question on both sides. When we are told that the critical study of contemporary history is impossible, because ‘ the living do not give up their secrets with the candour of the dead ’ ; because ‘ we can see apparent reasons for wars and treaties, but not the real reasons ’, or because professional historians have found themselves unable to pursue a scientific method of investigation, we should know that we have to do with useless protests against unwise or unscholarly methods of administration. Again, when it is insisted that the stars in their courses fight against the nineteenth-century historian, that a whole lifetime would not suffice for original researches, and that, in any case, there is a reasonable presumption that all the important documents have been already published, we must be on our guard against the lotus-eaters’ lure.

IMPROVED METHODS OF STUDY

The question is really a practical one. The work of the historian in an earlier period has had to wait upon the labours of the archivist, just as military operations must depend on the construction of ways of advance and lines of communication. In this later period there has been no scope for the functions of the archivist, since the documents have remained at the disposal of clerks and censors who take their instructions from the powers that be ; and so original research in this direction has been beset with certain technical difficulties which have hitherto proved irksome to historical students. It should, however, be possible to raise the standard of the historical study of this period ; to remove unreasonable restrictions on research, and to reform

the system of the Departmental Archives. Such a movement would also involve the co-ordination of the sources in the several archives.

Hitherto historical students have looked to the State for assistance in these matters, but they have looked in vain, and they will probably continue to look in vain; but substantial progress in many branches of knowledge has been made before now in the school of self-help. This fact is well known to the great body of students through whose patient organization of study and research the sources of our earlier history have been recovered and made accessible. The time has come when they must turn their serious attention to the sources of a later period; but first they must organize for the task that is before them. They must take stock of the existing sources, and they must also try to account for such as are not found. They must secure access to all records of a public nature up to some reasonable date. Finally, they must see to it that the latest period of our history receives the same careful and methodical treatment as the reign of a Plantagenet king.

For more than seven hundred years the study of History in this country has been pursued under conditions which have marked this island as a 'paradise of clerks'. The learned industry of monkish chroniclers, of historiographers royal, and of private scholars has enriched our libraries with a long series of monumental works, unsurpassed in the literature of any other country. But History is, like other sciences, progressive. Just as the progress in our own time of other sciences has been quite phenomenal, so the study of History has outgrown the older methods of research. But can it be truly said that in our historical methods we have kept pace with the times? We often hear the complaint that in the several branches of mechanical and political science, in the development of our national trade and industries, we have lost ground in the face of the keen competition of other countries. The difference in equipment and method may be almost imperceptible in such cases; whereas the whole scheme of our historical studies is admittedly inadequate for the requirements of modern scholarship.

It may, therefore, be fairly asked whether we are entitled to

pursue our historical studies in this desultory fashion; to busy ourselves in an amateurish way with the more attractive aspects of other national histories; or with purely speculative theories concerning our own institutions, when the reproach of neglected sources weighs so heavily upon us.

The truth is that the science of History has become very exacting. It is not enough to cite original authorities haphazard. It will not serve to rely for the general approval upon the old agreeable methods of an easygoing scholarship. The unremitting labours of the Public Record Office, of the British Museum, and of the numerous Record Societies of the present day have made available for the first time a vast mass of original materials which were overlooked, or at least ignored, by a former generation of historical workers.

PROGRESS OF FOREIGN POST-GRADUATE STUDY

Possibly foreign scholars also are not blameless in this matter. There has been, even in our time, a tendency to write the national history of the United States with a complacent patriotism which has assumed historical evidence in support of its assertions. In another direction the best energies of American students have been frequently devoted, in the past, to researches which are only concerned indirectly with the national history, with the result that their departmental Archives have been, if possible, more neglected than our own. At the same time, American historical scholars have, during the last twenty years, led the whole learned world in methods of original research. The result is seen in a practical system of historical instruction and in an output of 'Guides' to historical sources which is rapidly filling empty shelves in the libraries of Europe. A collection of American post-graduate studies would, in itself, provide the most striking evidence of the progress of historical research in this generation.

The unequalled organization of historical studies in America has enabled American students to profit by the scientific methods of the Continental Archives and historical institutions. We ourselves have not profited equally from the greater opportunities afforded by our unrivalled collections of historical documents; but the position has improved greatly during recent years. Our

Schools of History have benefited from the impulse given to research by the enterprise of foreign visitors, and the hospitality of the London Archives and colleges has been the saving grace of British scholarship, for the example and methods of our kinsmen have inspired our own post-graduate students.

To-day eager scholars of all nations swarm over the whole field of research ; each one deeply impressed with the importance and dignity of his subject. They explore the Archives for illustrative documents and for convincing facts or statistics ; and they carry back with them to their hives of learning a rich store of historical material which they will presently mould into the form of a learned thesis. So far as our own students are concerned, there is no reason to doubt that we could make equal progress in the serious study of the national history by exploring neglected sources and in other ways observing the first principles of Historical Method.

PROSPECTS OF THE STUDY OF WAR RECORDS

But while we are paying careful attention to the earlier periods of our history, its recent and contemporary literature should not remain a byword for inaccuracy. The principles of historical research and composition are already well defined. A large part of the materials lies ready to hand, and this can be supplemented from the original sources, when these are at length available. For this purpose the research habit must be encouraged, and then the Archives and Museums will be frequented by 'searchers' and our reference libraries by readers as well as 'book-makers'.

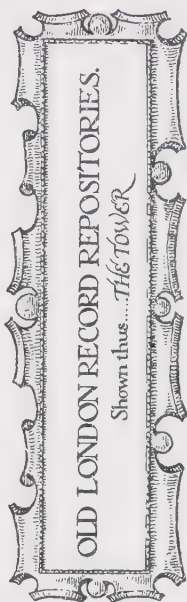
It is also important that a due proportion of endowed publications should be assigned to the later period. New means of publication should be looked for, and the interest or practical assistance of a wider circle of students might be usefully secured. The definition of a student of History need not be a narrow one. Excellent work of an historical nature has been done by archaeologists, lawyers, financiers, scientists, ministers of religion, soldiers, sailors, critics of literature, music and art, journalists, and other men of letters equipped with a special knowledge of the sources and technique of their subject and gifted with adequate powers of literary expression. In one way or another we can all become

apostles of historical truth ; but we shall not convert the heathen by stripes and ridicule, nor shall we move them by spasmodic preaching. Yet we may be sure that in art and science, as in Nature herself, the good in due course will drive out the bad, if only we ourselves prefer the better way ; for we have seen in our own time how the original researches of a few scholars have leavened the whole mass of our historical literature.

At the present moment, a great opportunity has presented itself of putting our Archive house in order for the benefit alike of contemporaries and descendants, to whom the lessons that may be derived from the economic and social history of the World War must be of inestimable benefit. The duty of salvaging and utilizing these War Records has been plainly stated, but little attention has been paid to that statement. Possibly, when the disastrous consequences of indifference and neglect are realized from a perusal of this survey of the nation's earlier records, steps may be taken to redeem the past.

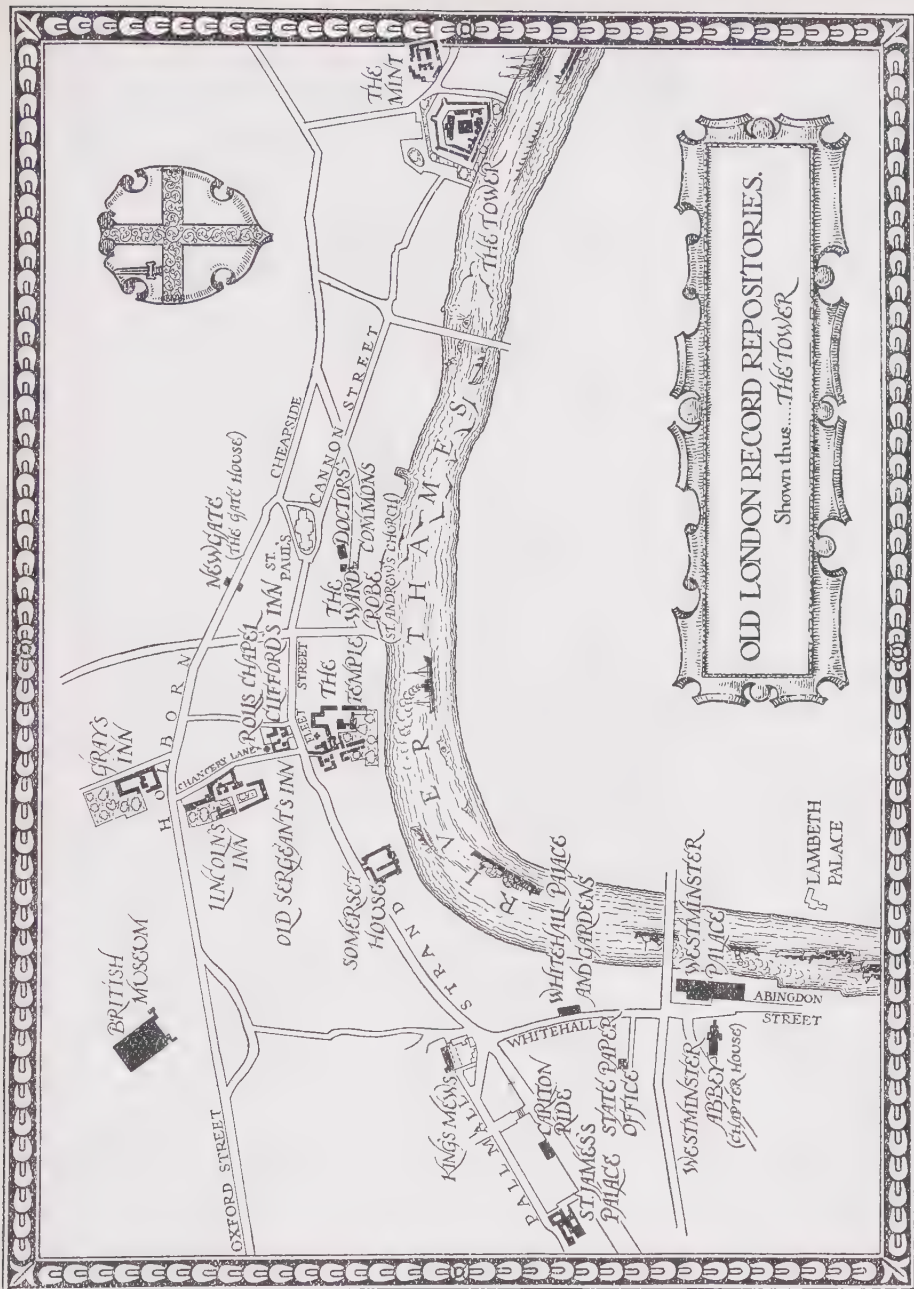
APPENDIX A

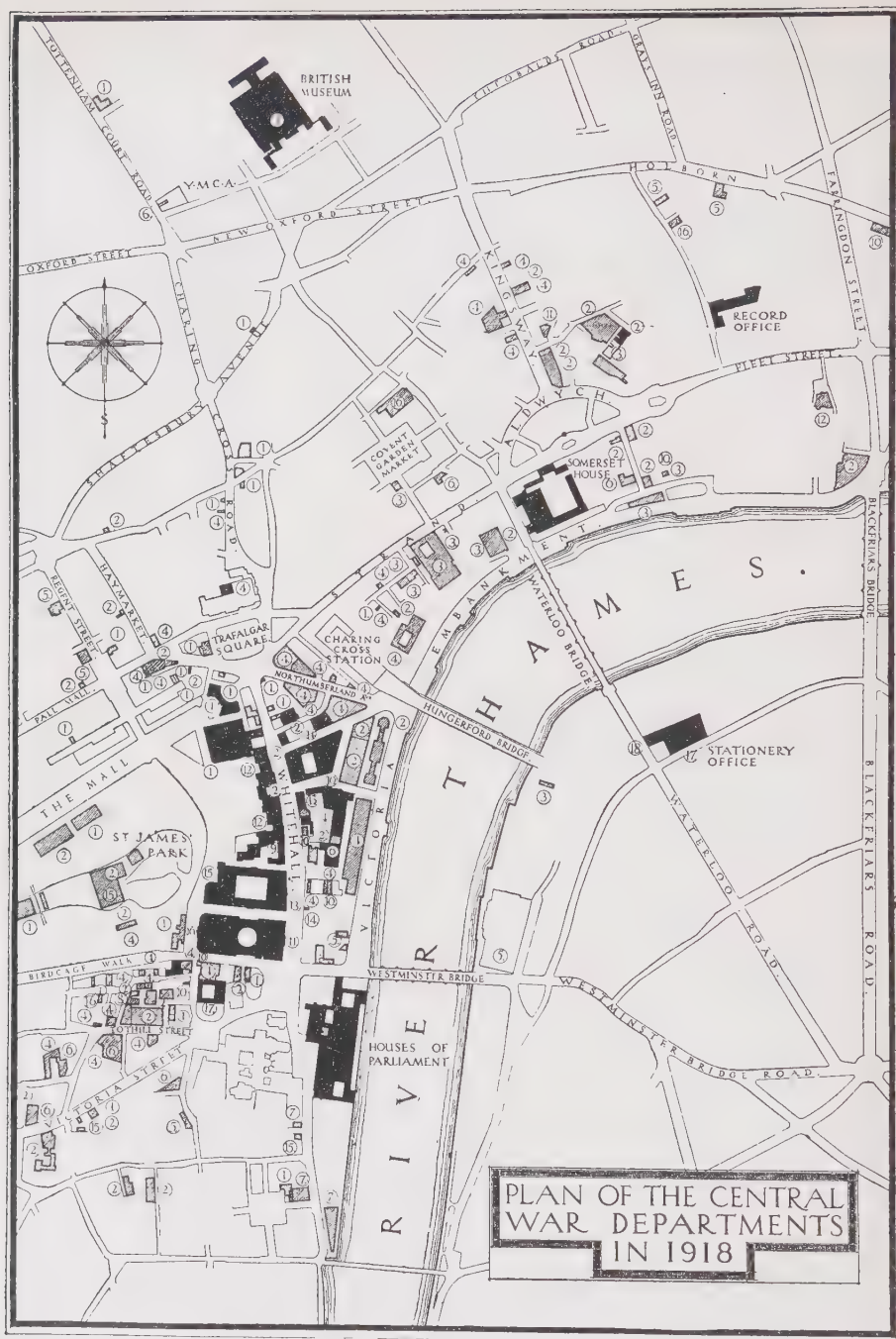
PLANS SHOWING THE POSITION OF THE WAR ARCHIVES
AND OF FORMER RECORD REPOSITORIES IN LONDON



OLD LONDON RECORD REPOSITORIES.

Shown thus...THE TOWER





KEY TO THE PLAN OF THE ARCHIVES OF THE CENTRAL WAR DEPARTMENT IN 1918 (p. 350)

Original Government Buildings prior to the War shown thus (×).
Additional buildings occupied during the War period shown thus ×.
The Archives chiefly concerned with Economic and Social matters are indicated by an asterisk*.

Premises	Department	No. on Plan
ADMIRALTY.		
Admiralty .. .. .	.. .. .	1 (×)
H.M. Office of Works (part of basement)	Shipyards Labour Department*	16 (×)
224, 225, 226 Tottenham Court Road, W.	Trades Division* ..	1 ×
Cranbourn Chambers, 20 Cranbourn St., W.C.	Recruiting	1 ×
4 Cockspur St., S.W. ..	Travelling Claims ..	1 ×
Whitehall House, Charing Cross, S.W.	.. .. .	1 ×
29/31 Spring Gardens, S.W. ..	.. .. .	1 ×
10/11 Great Newport St., W.C.	R.N.A.S. Pay Office ..	1 ×
6 Carlton Gardens, S.W. ..	.. .. .	1 ×
Ancaster House, 42, 43 Cranbourn St., W.C.	Chart Issue Branch ..	1 ×
10/11 Smith Square, S.W. ..	.. .. .	1 ×
4 Dean Stanley St., S.W. ..	.. .. .	1 ×
19 Carlton House Terrace, S.W.	.. .. .	1 ×
8/9 Great Newport St., W.C. ..	R.N.A.S. Pay Office ..	1 ×
173, 175, 177 Shaftesbury Avenue	Chart Issue Branch ..	1 ×
Greener House, Haymarket, S.W.	.. .. .	2 ×
Victory House, Cockspur St., S.W.	Inventions Board ..	1 ×
47 Victoria St., S.W. ..	Royal Naval Division Record Office T.B.D., Mines Inspection, and Compass	1 ×
Trafalgar Buildings, 1 Charing Cross, S.W.	.. .. .	1 ×
35 Spring Gardens, S.W. ..	.. .. .	1 ×
24 Charing Cross, S.W. ..	.. .. .	1 ×
18 Queen Anne's Gate ..	Shipyards Labour Branch	1 ×
125 Pall Mall	Accountant-General ..	1 ×
39 Charing Cross Road, W.C. ..	Hydrographic Department	1 ×
62, 65 Charing Cross, S.W. ..	.. .. .	1 ×
20 Carlton House Terrace ..	Admiralty	1 ×
26 Queen Anne's Gate, S.W. ..	Admiralty—other Sections	1 ×
1 Central Buildings	Admiral of Patrols ..	1 ×
5/6 Waterloo Place, S.W. ..	Blockade Ministry* ..	1 ×
14/15 Great George St., S.W. . .	Scientific and Industrial Research Committee*	1 ×

Premises	Department	No. on Plan	
Transport Buildings, St. James's Park	.. ..	1	Temporary Building
Dining Rooms, St. James's Park	.. ..	1	"
Park Buildings Extension ..	.. ..	1	"
Birdcage House, St. James's Park	Controller of Navy ..	1	"
Buildings in St. James's Park	.. ..	1	"
WAR OFFICE.			
War Office .. ..	.. ..	2	(×)
Barracks, Horse Guards ..	.. ..	2	(×)
Adastral House, Victoria Embankment, E.C.	.. ..	2	×
National Liberal Club, S.W. ..	.. ..	4	×
Whitehall Court, S.W., Flats 44, 46, 51, 105, 106, 107, 111, and 125	.. ..	2	×
47 Victoria St., S.W. ..	Forage Department* ..	2	×
Greener House, Haymarket, S.W.	.. ..	2	×
Caxton House, Tothill St., S.W.	National Salvage Organization Contracts Branch*	2	×
Watergate House, Adelphi, W.C.	.. ..	2	×
Imperial House, Tothill St., S.W.	Contracts Branch* ..	2	×
8 York Buildings, Adelphi ..	.. ..	4	×
India, Canada, and Empire Houses, Kingsway	Home Mechanical Transport	2	×
Embankment Gardens ..	Director-General Military Railways	2	Temporary Building
St. James's Park Extension Buildings	Effects Branch ..	2	"
St. James's Park Explosives Building	Director of Demobilization	4	"
Great Scotland Yard ..	Central Recruiting Department	2	(×)
Monck Street, S.W.	Australian Imperial Forces	2	Temporary Building
Chadwick St., S.W.	" " " "	2	"
Queen's House, Kingsway, W.C.	Allies Supplies Commission*	2	×
Bank Buildings, Kingsway, W.C.	" " " "	2	×
7 Norfolk St., Strand, W.C.	" " " "	2	×
India, Empire, and Canada Houses, Kingsway, W.C.	" " " "	2	×
Horrex's Hotel, Norfolk St., Strand	Ministry of Information*	2	×
2/3 Norfolk St., Strand ..	" " " "	2	×
10/12 Coventry Street ..	" " " "	2	×
Institute of Electrical Engineers, Savoy Hill, W.C.	Military Service ..	2	×
Artillery Mansions, Victoria St., S.W.	Ministry of National Service	2	×
Staple House, Chancery Lane	" " " "	16	×
1, 3, and 4 Central Buildings, Westminster, S.W.	War Trade Department*	2	×
Queen Anne's Gate Building, S.W.	" " " "	2	×
22 Queen Anne's Gate, S.W. ..	" " " "	4	×
61/62 Chancery Lane ..	War Trade Department (Diamond Export Committee)	5	×

Premises	Department	No. on Plan	
Building in St. James's Park ..	War Trade Department ..	2	Temporary Building
1/3 Whitehall Gardens, S.W. ..	War Cabinet ..	2	×
11/12 Pall Mall ..	„ ..	2	×
Surveyors' Institution, St. George St., S.W.	„ ..	2	×
15/16 Cockspur St. ..	Canadian Military Authorities	2	×
Strand House, Portugal St., W.C.	Postal Censors ..	2	×
Bankruptcy Buildings (part of), W.C.	„ ..	2	(×)
Strand House, Portugal St., W.C.	„ ..	2	Temporary Building
AIR MINISTRY.			
British Museum (certain galleries)	.. ..	3	(×)
Hotel Cecil ..	.. ..	3	×
4/5 Adam St., Adelphi, W.C. ..	.. ..	3	×
1/6 Clements Inn, W.C. ..	Dater and Instructional Office	3	×
Temple Station (premises over)	.. ..	3	×
Savoy Mansions ..	.. ..	3	×
Covent Garden Hotel ..	.. ..	3	×
Metropolitan Water Board, Savoy Court, W.C.	.. ..	3	×
Bangor Wharf, Belvedere Road, Storage, Lambeth	.. ..	3	×
Cecil Chambers, Strand, W.C.	.. ..	3	×
Adelphi Hotel, 1/4 John St., W.C.	.. ..	3	×
5, 6, 7 John St., W.C. ..	.. ..	3	×
Fitz Alan House, Arundel St., W.C.	.. ..	3	×
Institute of Electrical Engineers, Savoy Hill, W.C.	.. ..	3	×
MINISTRY OF MUNITIONS.			
Armament Buildings, Whitehall Place	.. ..	4	(×)
National Gallery (Gallery 6) ..	Internal Audit Department	4	(×)
3, 4, 5, and 6 Whitehall Gardens	.. ..	4	(×)
Montagu House, Whitehall ..	.. ..	4	(×)
St. Ermin's Hotel (part of) ..	.. ..	4	×
National Club, 1 Whitehall Gardens	.. ..	2	×
Grand Hotel, Strand, W.C. ..	.. ..	4	×
Hotel Metropole, Northumberland Avenue	.. ..	4	×
Hotel Victoria, Northumberland Avenue	.. ..	4	×
Constitutional Club, Northumberland Avenue	.. ..	4	×
Broad Sanctuary Chambers, 11 Tothill St., S.W.	Munitions Inventions Department	4	×
120 Pall Mall (French Gallery)	Mechanical Warfare Department	4	×
123, 125 Pall Mall ..	„ ..	4	×
14, 15, 16 Cockspur St., S.W. ..	„ ..	2	×
General Electric Co.'s Buildings, Kingsway, W.C.	Aircraft Production Department	4	×

Premises	Department	No. on Plan	
29A Charing Cross Road, W.C.	.. ..	4	×
Broadway Chambers, S.W. ..	Explosives	4	×
Barclay's Bank, Haymarket ..	.. ..	4	×
Alexandra House, Kingsway, W.C.	Aircraft Production Department	4	×
Carlton House, Great Queen St., W.C.	A.P.D.	4	×
Avenue House, Northumberland Avenue, S.W.	.. ..	4	×
Civil Engineers' Institute, St. George St., S.W.	.. ..	4	×
Durham House, 16 John St., Adelphi, W.C.	.. ..	4	×
24 Old Queen St., S.W. ..	Explosives	4	×
16, 18 Old Queen St., S.W. ..	High Explosives Department	4	×
32, 34 Old Queen St., S.W. ..	" " " "	4	×
Queen Anne's Chambers, Tothill St., S.W.	Finance Sub-Section ..	6	×
Storey's Gate Premises ..	High Explosives Department	4	×
3 Queen Anne's Gate Buildings, Old Queen St., S.W.	Explosives Department	4	×
1 Richmond Terrace, S.W. ..	Labour Department* ..	4	×
20 Cockspur St., S.W. 1 ..	Mechanical Warfare Department	4	×
Broadway House, S.W. ..	Explosives	4	×
8 York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.	.. ..	4	×
Institution of Mechanical Engineers, Storey's Gate, S.W.	.. ..	4	×
16 Queen Anne's Gate, S.W. ..	Drawing Office ..	4	×
Queen's House, Kingsway, W.C.	.. ..	4	×
Craven House, Northumberland Avenue, S.W.	.. ..	4	×
4 Queen Anne's Gate Buildings, Old Queen St., S.W.	Explosives	4	×
Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.	.. ..	4	×
Buildings back of Whitehall Gardens, S.W.	.. ..	4	Temporary Buildings.
Buildings back of Montagu House, S.W.	French Warfare Supply Department	4	"
Explosives Building, St. James's Park	Explosives Department	4	"
Adelphi Gardens, Victoria Embankment	French Warfare Supply Department	4	"
General Electric Co.'s Buildings, Kingsway, W.C.	Central Canteen ..	4	×
MINISTRY OF FOOD.*			
Carlton House, Regent St. ..	{ Wheat Commission* Wheat Supplies Italian Wheat Commission }	5	×
Palace Chambers, Bridge St., S.W.	.. ..	5	×

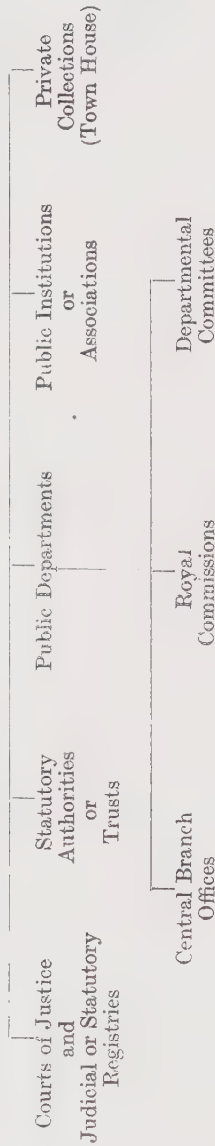
Premises	Department	No. on Plan	
St. Stephen's House, Victoria Embankment, S.W.	.. ..	5	×
Old St. Stephen's Chambers, Bridge St., S.W.	.. ..	5	×
61/62 Chancery Lane, W.C. ..	.. ..	4	×
Trafalgar House, Waterloo Place, S.W.	Wheat Commission ..	5	×
14 Great Smith St., S.W. ..	Sugar Commission* ..	5	×
Buchanan Buildings, Holborn, E.C.	Meat Imported Supplies	5	×
Scotland House, Victoria Embankment, S.W.	Sugar Commission ..	5	×
New County Hall (part of) ..	.. ..	5	×
MINISTRY OF LABOUR.*			
Montagu House, Whitehall, S.W.	.. ..	6	(×)
St. Ermin's Hotel (part of) ..	P.F. Branch ..	6	×
Howard Hotel, Norfolk St., W.C.	Demobilization ..	6	×
Hotel Windsor, Victoria St., S.W.	Appointments Dept. ..	6	×
Great Smith St., S.W. (Messrs. Vacher's Premises)	Employment Exchange ..	6	×
13/16 Tavistock St., W.C. ..	.. ..	6	×
Queen Anne's Chambers, S.W.	Central Office Labour Exchanges	6	×
260 Tottenham Court Road ..	Discharged and Disabled Sailors and Soldiers	6	×
MINISTRY OF PENSIONS.			
Westminster House, Millbank, S.W.	.. ..	7	×
18/19 Abingdon St., S.W. ..	.. ..	7	×
Victoria Tower Gardens, S.W.	.. ..	7	Temporary Building.
MINISTRY OF RECONSTRUCTION.*			
2 Queen Anne's Gate Buildings, Dartmouth St., S.W.	.. ..	8	×
PRIVY COUNCIL.			
Treasury Buildings, Whitehall	.. ..	9	(×)
BOARD OF TRADE.*			
Whitehall Gardens, Whitehall	.. ..	10	(×)
Holborn Viaduct Hotel ..	Controller of Mines ..	10	×
7 Princes St., S.W. ..	Canals Commission ..	10	×
6/7 Richmond Terrace, S.W. ..	Controller of Mines ..	10	×
Fitz Alan House, Arundel St., Strand	Committee on Work of National Importance	10	×
1 Great George St., S.W. ..	Tobacco and Match Control Board	10	×
Gwydwr House Extension, Whitehall	.. ..	—	Temporary Building.

Premises	Department			No. on Plan		
LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD.*						
New Government Buildings, Whitehall	11	(×)	
Sheffield House, Sheffield St., W.C.	11	×	
TREASURY.*						
Treasury Buildings, Whitehall, S.W.	12	(×)	
Paymaster-General's Office, Whitehall, S.W.	12	(×)	
Salisbury Hotel, Salisbury Sq., Fleet St., E.C.	War Savings Committee			12	×	
HOME OFFICE.						
Home Office, Whitehall, S.W.	13	(×)	
United Service Institution, Whitehall	Press Bureau			13	×	
BOARD OF AGRICULTURE.*						
Board of Agriculture, Whitehall Place, S.W.	14	(×)	
38 and 39 Parliament St., S.W.	14	×	
FOREIGN OFFICE.						
Foreign Office, Whitehall	15	(×)	
Clerk of Parliament's Residence, House of Lords (rooms in)	—	(×)	
57, 59 Victoria St., S.W. Annex fronting Pear St.	Passport Department			15	×	
55 Victoria St., S.W.	15	×	
3 Great College St., S.W.	15	×	
Passport Office, St. James's Park	Passport Department			15	Temporary Building	
OFFICE OF WORKS.*						
Office of Works, Storey's Gate, S.W.	16		(×)
Covent Garden Theatre	16		×
Staple House, Chancery Lane, W.C.	16	×	
Public Offices Extension Building (certain rooms)	Imperial War Museum			16	(×)	
9 Queen Anne's Gate, S.W.	16	×	
STATIONERY OFFICE.						
Stationery Office, Stamford St., S.E.	17	(×)	
Stationery Office, Princes St., S.W.	17	(×)	
PUBLIC TRUSTEE. TRADING WITH ENEMY.*						
Cornwall House, Waterloo Road, S.E.	18	(×)	
GENERAL REGISTER OFFICE.*						
Somerset House, Strand, W.C.	—	(×)	
PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE.						
Record Office, Chancery Lane	—	(×)	

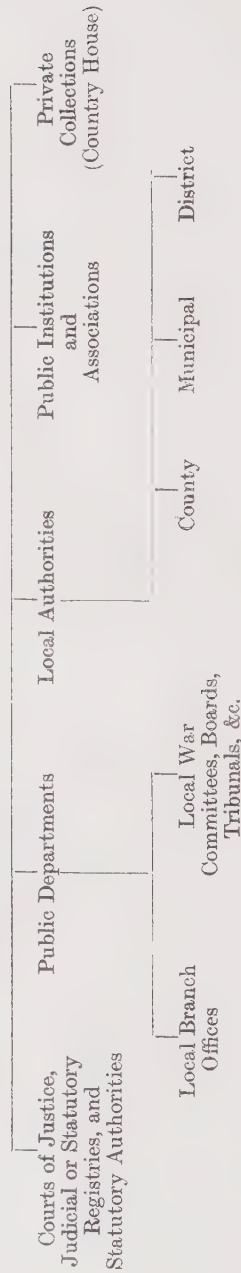
APPENDIX B

SUMMARY LIST SHOWING THE CLASSIFICATION
AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE WAR RECORDS
(1914-20)

I. CENTRAL WAR RECORDS (Public Records and Semi-Public and Private Documents)



II. LOCAL WAR RECORDS (Public Records and Semi-Public or Private Documents)



A. CENTRAL RECORDS.¹

(a) *Public Records*.²

Royal Courts of Justice.³

Registries (Judicial, Statutory, and Departmental).⁴

Public Departments (Pre-War and Post-War).⁵

Temporary Commissions and Committees.⁶

(b) *Semi-Public Records*.

Statutory Authorities and Trusts.⁷

Public Institutions and Associations.⁸

¹ Centralized in the Metropolitan area, or (rarely) elsewhere.

² As defined by the Public Record Office Act (1838), ss. 2 and 20, and Order in Council, 5 March 1852.

³ These are of interest in connexion with statistics of public morals and commercial prosperity in war time. The Admiralty Prize Court is a war-time development; but Courts Martial are under Departmental control. Judicial business was also affected by the Emergency Powers Acts, or by the Orders and Rules made under those Acts.

⁴ The Registries of the Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty Division of the High Court of Justice reflect the activities of the divisional courts during the War. The statutory registry of Births, Marriages and Deaths had not only to deal with new problems of civil registration, but undertook an important Register of National Service among other registration relating to the War. The departmental registries (like the Patent Office) were chiefly occupied with special War work; the records of some of these (like the Friendly Societies and Merchant Shipping Registries) were materially affected by the War. The best account of these records is given in the 1914 Report.

⁵ As remarked elsewhere (p. 4 sq.) the status of these Departments varied considerably, ranging from a Secretary of State's Office to a Board or Committee specialized for national service. The distinction between the old Secretariats, Boards, or Commissions and the Ministries or other War Departments is naturally very marked. As to the status of the sub-departments see above, pp. 15 and 60 sq.

⁶ This heading includes the archives of more than three hundred Commissions or Committees dealing with Finance, Trade, Shipping or Transport, National Service, Food and other Supplies, Munitions, Relief of Distress, Aliens, and Prisoners of War. The careful investigation and disposal of these records was strongly recommended by the Royal Commission of 1920.

⁷ For the constitutional aspect of this class see *Repertory* (p. 97 sq.). The ancient statutory authorities and trusts, with a few exceptions, could not be utilized for War work; but they were supplemented by a large number of *ad hoc* authorities in the shape of so-called 'Central' Committees; but apart from the manner of their appointment, the distinction between these bodies and Departmental Committees (central or local) is not very obvious. The valuable collection made for the Womens' Work section of the Imperial War Museum Library has been previously referred to (p. 121).

⁸ Some Institutions were utilized, others were suspended. Associations were more easily adapted for national service.

Professional, Commercial, and Industrial Corporations.
Companies or Firms.¹

(c) *Private Collections*.²

B. LOCAL RECORDS.

(a) *Public Records*.³

Courts of Justice.

District Registries (Judicial and Statutory).

Branch Offices of Public Departments.

Temporary Commissions and Committees.

(b) *Semi-Public Records*.

Statutory Authorities and Trusts.⁴

Local Authorities.⁴

Public Institutions and Associations.⁵

Professional, Commercial, and Industrial Corporations.
Companies or Firms.⁶

(c) *Private Collections*.⁷

¹ It would be interesting to estimate the relative activities of the great industrial corporations and those of individual traders during the War, and materials for this should be available, though the official returns and assessments are confidential. The constitution of the several companies can be ascertained from the records of the Joint-Stock Companies Registry at Somerset House.

² Instances of the extensive appropriation of official documents during the War will be familiar to us all. It may be suggested that the 'town-house' rather than the 'country-house' of the privileged 'collector' was their original repository, and may therefore be regarded as a central archive.

³ For the pre-War constitutional relations of this group see *Repertory*, pp. 65 sq. During the War the judicial and statutory records throw much light on the incidence of certain offences which cannot be satisfactorily determined by 'Judicial Statistics', e. g. how far their alleged diminution was due to the avoidance of prosecutions. The Branch Records of Public Departments and Local War Committees, &c. should be of occasional interest. These have been disposed of *in pari materia* with the records of the central departments; but the subject is one that must some day be carefully investigated for historical purposes. For a detailed list of these official Local Records see Appx. E.

⁴ These archives include documents of an official nature; but in most cases they have not been resumed or claimed by the Government. In other cases the documents are presumably in the custody or at the disposal of the county, municipal, or parish authorities. It is hoped that they may be investigated at the suggestion of the Local War Records Committee.

⁵ This class comprises documents which are for the most part in the custody of public officials.

⁶ The position of these documents is the same as that of those mentioned in note 1 above.

⁷ Eventually some or all of the documents previously referred to in note 2 above may find their way to the libraries or muniment rooms of country houses.

APPENDIX C

COMMITTEES AND OTHER OFFICIAL BODIES WORKING WITH THE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES ¹

(*Renamed Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, 9 & 10 Geo. V, c. 91*)

Committees, &c. (having reference to War conditions)	Duration	References and Remarks
Agricultural Consultative Committee on Home Grown Food-stuffs.	10 August 1914 to 27 January 1917.	Cd. 7855, 8256, 8741, 9005.
Agricultural Costings Committee.	21 December 1918 to October 1921.	A.C.C.I. Representative of Board of Agriculture and Fisheries, Board of Agriculture for Scotland, Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland, and Ministry of Food. Central Agricultural Advisory Council and Consumers' Council also represented.
Agricultural Wages Board.	3 December 1917 to 30 September 1921.	1918 H.L., No. 114; <i>History of the Agricultural Club</i> , Sir R. H. Rew (P. S. King, 1922).
Cereal Seeds Advisory Committee.	Appointed June 1917. Still in existence (1921).	C. 62; Cd. 9005.
Fertilizers Committee.	21 October 1915 to 6 January 1917.	Cd. 8256, 8741, 9005.
Fish, Food, and Motor Loan Committee.	April 1917 (see Motor Loan Committee) to 30 June 1922.	Cmd. 585, pp. xix-xx, 64-74; Cd. 8741. Part of functions absorbed by Fish Section of Ministry of Food, but it continued operations till after Armistice.
Flax Production Branch.	10 December 1917 (1 October 1917 acc. to No. 114, 1918) to June 1920.	1918 H.L., No. 114; Cmd. 216, Final Report; Cmd. 1208, 1062; Cmd. 1368.
Food Production Committee (England and Wales).	17 June 1915 to 29 October 1915.	Cd. 8048, 8095, 8741. Presented Reports 17 July and 15 October 1915.

¹ (Cf. above, p. 63 sq.

Committees, &c. (having reference to War conditions)	Duration	References and Remarks
Food Production Advisory Committee.	27 January 1917 to June 1918.	Cd. 8741, 9005, p. 158.
Food Production Department.	January 1917 to March 1920.	Cd. 8741; 1918 H.L., No. 114; Cmd. 304; Cd. 9005; Report of the Director-General of Food Production, February 1917 to June 1918 (for official use); Cmd. 1368.
Freshwater Fish Committee.	26 March 1917 to March 1919.	Cd. 8256: Interim Report, 1917; Second Report, 1918; Final Report, 1920.
Grain Supplies Committee.	14 September 1915 to October 1916.	Cd. 8256, 8741; Cmd. 1544. Reserve stocks of this Committee were subsequently taken over by the Royal Commission on Wheat Supplies.
Horse-Breeding Committee (No. 1). Committee on the supply of Horses for Military Purposes (England and Wales).	3 August 1915 to 8 October 1915.	Cd. 8741. Cd. 8134 (Report). See also under Board of Trade (Horse Transport Department).
Horse-Breeding Committee (No. 2). Distribution of surplus mares.	12 May 1917 to October 1917.	Cd. 8741, 8910.
Horticultural Advisory Committee on Growers and Distributors.	April 1918. Still in existence (1921).	C. 62.
Indian Wheat Committee.	17 March 1915. Superseded by Royal Commission on Wheat Supplies October 1916.	Cd. 9090. Cd. 8256. Appointed by Cabinet Committee on Food Supplies through President of Board of Agriculture.
Joint Committee of Board of Agriculture and Ministry of Food.	1 February 1918 to 30 June 1919.	1918 H.L., No. 114.
Joint Committee of Board of Agriculture and Royal Agricultural Society.	9 May 1917 to December 1917.	Cd. 8741.
Land Settlement Committee.	15 July 1915 to 19 June 1916.	Cd. 8182, 8277, 8347, 8916. Reports presented 1916.
Live-Stock Committee.	24 January 1918 to 23 August 1919.	C. 62.

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Committees, &c. (having reference to War conditions)	Duration	References and Remarks
Milk Production and Distribution Committee.	18 May 1917 to 1919.	Cd. 8608, 8886, 9005 (W. Cab.); Cmd. 315, 483 (Final Report). Appointed by President of Board of Agriculture with concurrence of Ministry of Food. Reports presented 1917-19.
Motor Loan Committee.	14 February 1917 to April 1917. Reconstructed as Fish, Food, and Motor Loan Committee.	Cmd. 585, pp. xvii-xviii, 58-63.
Phosphates and Potash Distribution Committee.	August 1919 to April 1920.	C. 62; Cd. 9005. This was appointed by the Board of Trade, but Ministry of Agriculture was represented.
Pig Production Section.	11 March 1918 to January 1919.	1918 H.L., No. 114.
Potato Seed Advisory Committee.	12 February 1918. Reconstituted 11 September 1920. Still in existence (1921).	C. 62.
Poultry Advisory Committee.	6 June 1917 to 6 July 1920.	C. 62.
Seeds Advisory Committee.	20 June 1917. Still in existence (1921).	C. 62; Cd. 9005. Appointed by Food Production Department.
Sulphate of Ammonia Distribution Committee.	29 May 1917 to 31 May 1921.	C. 62; Cd. 9005.
Timber (Home Grown) Committee.	24 November 1915 to 31 March 1917.	Cd. 8256; <i>Board of Trade Journal</i> , 7 March 1918, p. 271. Functions taken over by Department of Timber Supplies (War Office) in February 1917.
Timber (Pit) Joint Committee.	Spring 1916-17.	Cd. 8345, p. 8; Cd. 9084, p. 43. Consisted of representatives of Coal-mining Organization Committee (H.O.), Board of Agriculture, Board of Trade, with section of Timber (Home Grown) Committee, a section merged in Timber Supplies Department of Board of Trade in 1917.

APPENDIX D

THE SCHEDULES FOR THE DESTRUCTION OF OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE WAR PERIOD ¹

‘THE procedure followed in the United Kingdom with regard to the preservation or destruction of official documents relating to the War period is governed by the Acts of 1838, 1877, and 1898, “for keeping safely the public records”.

‘The 1838 Act had required that accumulating records should be delivered from time to time to the Master of the Rolls. The Act of 1877 empowered the Master of the Rolls with the approval of the Treasury to make rules as to the disposal, subject to certain provisions, of documents of insufficient public value to justify their preservation in the Public Record Office. It enacted that a schedule of the documents which it was proposed to destroy should be prepared, with such particulars as to their character and contents as might be calculated to enable the Houses of Parliament to judge of the expediency of their destruction, and that no document should be destroyed until the schedule relating to it has been submitted to both Houses of Parliament for a period of not less than four weeks. The Act of 1898 is an amending Act of little importance in this connexion.

‘The treatment accorded to documents in the possession of the various Departments of State relating to the War period is in accordance with the provisions of these Acts.² Documents which are deemed of sufficient public value to warrant permanent preservation will, when they are no longer required for administrative purposes, be transferred to the Public Record Office.³ Classes of documents considered by the Departments to be of insufficient public value to warrant such preservation were listed in 1918 and subsequent years in accordance with previous practice by the Departments; and these lists were discussed and amended by Inspecting Officers from the Record Office and representatives of the Department concerned. Agreed schedules were thus prepared containing “lists and particulars of certain classes of documents existing or accruing in [the several

¹ The following practical and lucid exposition, from the official point of view of departmental procedure under the Public Record Office Acts of 1877 and 1898, was drawn up in a Government Department for the information of the General Editor. The objections and requirements of historical students and archivists in this connexion are stated on p. 23 sq. and elsewhere in this work.

² A reprint of Statutes, Rules, and Schedules governing the disposal of public records by destruction or otherwise covering the period 1877–1913 was issued in 1914 by H.M. Stationery Office.

³ The physical transference of documents to the Record Office cannot, however, take place until increased accommodation is available, as the existing building is full.

Departments] which are not considered of sufficient public value to justify their preservation in the Public Record Office". These schedules, after approval by the Master of the Rolls and the Minister responsible for the Department in question, were submitted to both Houses of Parliament for a period of not less than four weeks before action was taken in regard to any of the documents.

'Most of these schedules contain an overriding provision intended to ensure the preservation of valuable papers which might otherwise, under a literal reading of the instructions, be destroyed. In the case of the Ministries of Health and Labour, for example, there is provision that all documents to be destroyed in accordance with the schedule shall first be examined by a competent officer of the Ministry who will withdraw for preservation any document or file containing matter likely to be of value as a precedent or to be of historical or legal importance. In the case of the Ministry of Food there is provision for the preservation of all papers determining policy, settling schemes, or otherwise of permanent interest—historical, economic, or legal—and for the examination of files in detail to ensure that no paper of importance shall be destroyed. In the case of the Ministry of Munitions it is laid down that all documents in which precedents were created or which contained matter of historical, scientific, economic, or statistical importance will be preserved.

'In respect of each class of the documents scheduled for destruction the period after which the documents may be destroyed is specified. These periods vary from item to item, and range from "Forthwith" to "Thirty years". In most cases the period specified is one of a term of years after action on the papers has ceased; sometimes the period runs from the termination of the scheme to which the papers relate or (in establishment papers) from the death or retirement of the individual concerned.

'The documents which are scheduled as "to be destroyed forthwith" are mainly what may generally be called routine papers—papers in which principles already determined are applied to individual cases—and especially routine papers relating to individuals (c. g. applications from munitions volunteers, complaints by munitions workers, lists of men released and exempted from military service, applications for licences or permits, &c., &c.). Other material coming into this category includes duplicate papers received or circulated, drafts of memoranda, &c., subsequently printed, routine correspondence, and minutes of a minor character, statistical and financial working sheets, personal papers relating to temporary officers employed in temporary departments, covering letters, letters of acknowledgement, reminders, inquiries as to how matters stand or requests for observations, and anonymous or unintelligible letters.

‘In the case of documents to be preserved for a term of years, the assignment of the period after which the documents may be destroyed is so dependent upon the special character of each class of document that it is difficult to generalize. Naturally, routine papers relating to financial transactions receive somewhat different consideration from other routine papers. Any papers which might be required to prove payments and receipts are scheduled to be kept for at least seven years, while ledgers, journals, cash abstracts, analysis books, orders receivable books, orders payable books, receipt books, &c., are generally retained for a longer period. Ledgers constituting the main financial record are usually excluded from the schedule. As regards other distinctions between classes, two examples taken at random will serve to illustrate the general line of treatment. The following is extracted from the schedule relating to the Coal Mines Department which was created to meet the difficulties arising during the War as to the supply, transport, and distribution of coal :

Class of Documents	Period after which Documents may be Destroyed
Economy of Coal	
1. Replies to circulars as to (a) the inter-connexion of Electricity Undertakings, (b) Economy in Lighting (Replies on which action was necessary were transmitted to the Public Utility Department of the Board of Trade.)	FORTHWITH
2. Correspondence as to Coal substitutes	FIVE YEARS
3. Monthly returns of consumption of fuel by Brewers and Flour Millers	ONE YEAR
4. Statistics of quantity and class of fuel used in steam boilers by individual firms during June 1917 and Supplementary Returns in form of card index (Statistical sheets arranged under areas will be preserved.)	TEN YEARS
5. Correspondence and suggestions relative to economy in consumption (All suggestions which were in the least likely to be of value were transferred to the Department of Fuel Research or in certain cases to the Board of Agriculture.)	ONE YEAR
6. Departmental Reports on utilization of fuel by individual firms	FIVE YEARS
7. Reports received from the Government Laboratory on samples of fuel	ONE YEAR
8. Correspondence <i>re</i> use of Water Gas plant	ONE YEAR

‘The following will serve to indicate the agreed periods of preservation for documents common to all branches of the Ministry of Labour.

Class of Documents	Period after which Documents may be Destroyed
1. Papers containing decisions on relatively unimportant matters of departmental policy	TWELVE YEARS
2. Papers relating to : (a) Matters of departmental policy other than decisions thereon	THREE YEARS
(b) Unimportant documents arising out of official inquiries, or otherwise, and relating to Social and Industrial conditions	THREE YEARS

Class of Documents	Period after which Documents may be destroyed.
3. Routine correspondence, minutes, and reports	THREE YEARS
4. Minor correspondence, returns, &c., the value of which ceases on settlement of the matter involved	ONE YEAR
5. Papers of standing Inter-departmental and Departmental Committees dealing with matters of temporary interest	THREE TO SEVEN YEARS
6. Papers relating to reappointment and to proceedings of temporary interest of Boards, Committees, Panels appointed to advise the department upon current matters, Trade Boards, and Joint Industrial Councils	THREE YEARS
7. Duplicates of documents filed elsewhere	ONE YEAR

‘With isolated exceptions the maximum term assigned for the preservation of documents which are eventually to be destroyed is thirty years. Into this category come such papers as files relating to payment of arrears of wages to workers employed under the Trade Boards Acts, and to cases in which prosecutions were considered but not undertaken; permits of exemption from Trade Board minimum rates; files relating to interpretation of Trade Boards Acts and application of minimum rates where no legal opinion was taken. In the case of material used for compiling labour statistics, the files relating to general changes in rates of wages and hours of labour are not to be destroyed until thirty years after the publication of the annual report summarizing the information contained in the files, while tabulation sheets used in connexion with a census of wages are not to be destroyed for thirty years after the taking of that census.’

APPENDIX E

DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF LOCAL WAR RECORDS

(From the Final Report of Local War Records Committee)

1. RETURNS OF THE LOCAL WAR RECORDS SCHEDULE¹

ONLY seventy returns were received from local councils in respect of the 700 circulars sent out. Most of these, however, were for districts where no previous action had been taken with regard to the preservation of local war records and, therefore, showed the existence and position of considerable series of records not previously brought to the notice of the Committee.

The returns showed that the most important and varied series of local war records existed in the larger municipalities. It was therefore resolved that further effort should be made to secure information as to these archives. Accordingly, some months after

¹ See above, Chapter V, p. 107 sq.

the first circulation of the Schedule, a reminder was sent to all municipal corporations with a population of over 50,000 which had up to that time made no return, and also to any other local authorities from which a return had been promised.

In response to this letter about fifty more returns were received from the local authorities in question, and, with other material in hand of a similar nature, it was estimated that information had been secured as to the local war records of 150 districts in Great Britain, both country and municipal. About three-fifths of the greater cities and corporations were represented.

Many of the returns showed not only the classes of documents of the statutory and semi-official War Committees preserved in the various departments of the councils' offices, but also those in the hands of former secretaries of such committees and therefore no longer in official custody. Information as to the nature of the documents preserved was not given in all cases.

The transfer of records regarded as the property of the Crown to the respective Government Departments was noted in some cases, though in others official documents were still in the custody of the councils. Documents seem to have been destroyed in some places in accordance with instructions from Government Departments or otherwise (Section A of the Schedule).

In some of the returns considerable information was given as to the records of those administrative activities of the Council that were connected with war conditions, and especially with regard to War Emergency Committees of the Councils where such were formed. Details were sometimes supplied concerning the documents connected with war measures for employment, education, housing, and public health, with particulars concerning the Special Constabulary (Section B of the Schedule).

A considerable proportion of the return stated that the records of the council were open to inspection, in some cases under various conditions. Many gave no answer to this question, and a few stated that the records could not be inspected.

The names and addresses of secretaries or other officials of Voluntary War Organizations, who had the custody of the records, were given where these were known to the Clerk of the Council; but only in a few cases was information as to the documents of this class supplied (Section C of the Schedule).

Lastly some information was given regarding local War Histories, publications giving a record of the war activities of local firms, and files of local newspapers or collections of cuttings of interest in this connexion. Pamphlets and other enclosures describing the war

activities of the district were often sent with the return (Section D of the Schedule).

In districts where action had been taken to preserve the War Records previously to the circulation of the Schedule adequate particulars of the documents collected or discovered had been already supplied by some local authorities; others promised to complete the Schedule, while in other cases the collection of the records was not sufficiently advanced for a full return to be made.

In order to collect as far as possible complete particulars of existing documents concerning local war activities, a further inquiry was addressed by the Central Committee to all Public Libraries in which collections of such records were known to be contemplated, and additional information as to the collections was received from a number of these.

Further, in view of the value of many of the records noted in the returns as in the hands of various public officials, local societies, and private persons, inquiries were sent to a great number of these to ascertain exact particulars of the documents in their possession, and returns containing detailed accounts of many such series were received. This information appears to be of great interest as showing that in many cases extensive and varied series of Local War Records are in the custody of persons who, while fully realizing the importance of the documents in their possession, cannot undertake that they will be permanently preserved. In general, the present custodians intend to keep the documents during their lifetime, but have made no provision for their subsequent preservation. In some instances, however, documents have been, or are soon to be, deposited either in public Libraries or in the offices of local councils, and doubtless the safety of many more would be similarly secured if other local authorities and library committees were willing to house these records. The Committee has received numerous inquiries from the private custodians of Local War Records as to possible repositories for their documents; but at present there are not many local institutions willing or able to undertake the custody. Unless some means can be found to secure the preservation of these records in permanent repositories, it will be almost impossible to discover them in a few years.

The documents in the charge of public officials will probably later be deposited either with the local councils or with the various central bodies, and those in the hands of local societies will usually be carefully preserved with documents of these bodies. While anxiety must be felt concerning the documents still in private hands, fortunately the representative collections and series which are adequately

preserved will in some measure supply the want of local war records already lost or destroyed, and of those for which no provision is being at present made.

2. SUMMARY OF RESULTS OBTAINED

The records of local war activities existing in the various districts of Great Britain are at present in the custody of (a) Local Authorities, (b) Public Libraries, (c) Local Societies and Committees, and (d) private persons, and the general conditions of their custody may be described as follows :

(a) Local War Records in the possession of County Councils, and of City, Borough, Urban District, and Rural District Councils and other local authorities consist mainly of the documents of statutory war committees and other war organizations carried on by the Council's officials, and of the activities of the local authorities connected with war conditions. To these are often added the records now deposited in the Council's custody of war organizations which were undertaken by committees and societies outside the Council.

The War Records preserved by the County Councils usually include those of Agricultural Executive Committees, County Relief Committees, County Military Appeal Tribunals, and the County War Pensions Committees (1916-18). To these are often added the documents of the County Belgian Refugees Committees, the County Recruiting Committees, and of Emergency Defence Committees, including the activities of Special Constables. The Records concerning the Police and Special Constables are, however, more often to be found with the Chief Constable for the County. Records of Prisoners of War Funds, Organizations for Women's War Work and of the County Branch of the British Red Cross Society, are sometimes deposited with the Council's Records.

The majority of local war records are, however, to be found, not in the possession of the County Council, but in the hands of the City, Borough, and District Councils. The principal war activities carried on by these bodies did not differ very greatly in kind, and similar documents may therefore be found among the archives of a city and an urban district. These are the records of Coal Control, Local Military Tribunals, National Registration, Local Relief Committees, and the documents connected with the Council's Emergency War Measures, and proceedings relating to the State of Employment, Education, Police and Special Constables, Public Health, and Housing. The records of certain war organizations occur less frequently ; for example, those of Profiteering Committees, National Kitchen Committees, Land Cultivation, Small Holdings and Allot-

ment Committees, Coal Conservation Committees, Citizens' Committees, War Loan Campaigns, National Service Committees, Appeal Committees for Raising Funds, Munitions of War Committees, and Defence Committees. These documents are to be found with more frequency in the Cities and larger Boroughs than in smaller districts. The records of certain War Committees occur sometimes in the Councils' Archives, both in cases when the Committee acted under the Council's auspices and when they have been deposited in the Council's care at the termination of the Committee. Such are the archives of Belgian Refugees Committees, Recruiting Committees, Flag Day Committees, Prisoners of War Funds, War Hospital Supply Depots, Food Economy Committees, and others.

The records of Food Control have usually been forwarded to the Ministry of Food and are now deposited with the Food Department of the Board of Trade, though certain of them remain in local custody. The documents of War Savings Committees and Associations have sometimes been sent to the National Savings Committee, though often they still remain in the Councils' possession or in private hands. The records of the Belgian Refugees Committees of a few large towns have been sent to the Belgian Foreign Office for conservation. Other documents have been forwarded to central or divisional offices in some instances.

The archives of Local Authorities are in many cases open to inspection by accredited investigators, and applications should be addressed to the Clerk to the Council.

(b) Collections of Local War Records formed in the Public Libraries generally comprise the documents mentioned above, but the records included vary very greatly. In addition the documents of other voluntary organizations are preserved in some libraries, with special reports of war activities. Files of local newspapers, collections of press cuttings and photographs, war diaries, pamphlets, posters, and circulars issued locally, and copies of local war histories are often to be found in the libraries and provide interesting and sometimes valuable information concerning economic and social conditions of the War period. Collections of records in Public Libraries are open to inspection.

(c) In some districts the records of local war organizations and activities are preserved by such organizations as Guilds of Help, Citizens' Committees, and branches of the Charity Organization Society. The records of War Pensions Committees are usually kept at their local offices. Other local associations and institutions whose archives are of importance in this connexion are the Soldiers and Sailors' Families Association, the Soldiers and Sailors' Help Society,

the British Legion (including the Federation of Discharged and Demobilized Soldiers), the United Services Clubs, Hospitals and Training Centres for Disabled Service Men, the Civic Recreation League, Women's Institutes, and the Young Men's Christian Association. Records of Branches of the British Red Cross Society are in the hands of the County Directors. Certain of these bodies permit their records to be investigated.

(d) The records of many war organizations which have now ceased to exist are in the hands of their former secretaries or other officials. The most important of these for economic purposes are Belgian Refugees Committees, Prisoners of War Funds, War Savings Committees, Volunteer and Recruiting Committees, War Hospital Supply Depots, Voluntary Aid Detachments, and Committees of the Queen's Work for Women Organization. The names and addresses of the secretaries of these organizations can be obtained by application to the Clerk of the Council for the district. The present custodians of these documents are usually willing to have them inspected, but it should be noted that many Local War Records in private hands have already been destroyed and that others can no longer be traced.

The classes of the documents of the associations and committees mentioned above, which are generally preserved, vary considerably. In the Schedule of Local Records issued by the Committee, lists of such documents as should exist in a complete collection are given for each war organization. Generally, however, certain classes of the records only are now in existence. Minutes, reports, and accounts of War Committees have usually been preserved, besides correspondence, original applications and returns, lists, registers, and case papers. Though in the case of some War Organizations, notably Coal Control, Agricultural Executive Committee, and Local Military Tribunals, permission has been given by Government Departments for the documents to be destroyed at stated times, in practice many Councils have kept records of special or historical interests, and other documents of these bodies are preserved in numerous instances. Similarly some records of National Registration are still to be found in the possession of local councils, though the majority have now been destroyed.

The records of the Councils' War Activities (Section B of the Schedule) do not differ greatly in kind from the usual archives of the Councils with which they are generally preserved. The documents of the Councils' War Emergency Measures are, however, of a special character, and often form a special collection.

The character of the documents of Voluntary Organizations in local custody is similar to that of the records of War Com-

mittees, and minutes, accounts, reports, correspondence, lists, and applications for and particulars of relief are the usual records in existence.

In the Analysis of Returns to the Local War Records Schedule, detailed particulars are given of all documents in local custody which have been traced by the Local War Records Committee. It is believed that the records mentioned as in public custody herein will, for the most part, be permanently preserved. Those known to be open to inspection have been noted, but permission to investigate others would probably be granted.

The local districts are placed in alphabetical order under counties, but an alphabetical list is appended, showing in which county each place is to be found. The records are divided according to custody, as (a) At Council Offices, (b) At Public Library, (c) Forwarded to Head-quarters, and (d) Outlying, that is, not in the former repositories. The present custody of the documents included under 'Outlying' can probably be ascertained from the Clerk of the Council.

In cases where all the records mentioned in Section A of the Schedule are preserved, the expression 'all documents' is used. The following is a list of the principal abbreviations used :

Accts. = Accounts.
Assoc. = Association.
Batt. = Battalion.
Cttee. = Committee.
Corresp. = Correspondence.
Dept. = Department.

Docs. = Documents.
Fed. = Federation.
Min. = Ministry.
Pop. = Population.
Regt. = Regiment.
Soc. = Society.

Local Authorities.

T.C. = Town Council.
B.C. = Borough Council.
C.B.C. = County Borough Council.
C.C. = County Council.

City C. = City Council.
M.B.C. = Metropolitan Borough Council.
R.D.C. = Rural District Council.
U.D.C. = Urban District Council.

Voluntary Organizations.

B.R.C. = British Red Cross Society.
Fed. of D. & D. S. & S. = Federation of
Discharged and Demobilized Soldiers
and Sailors.
Order of St. John = Order of St. John of
Jerusalem in England.
P. of W. = Prisoners of War.
S. & S.F.A. = Soldiers' and Sailors' Families
Association.
S. & S.H.S. = Soldiers' and Sailors' Help
Society.

V.A.D. = Voluntary Aid Detachment.
W.A.A.C. = Women's Auxiliary Army
Corps.
War Supply Depot = War Hospital Supply
Depot.
Y.M.C.A. = Young Men's Christian Asso-
ciation.
Y.W.C.A. = Young Women's Christian
Association.

3. ANALYSIS OF RETURNS OF LOCAL WAR RECORDS SCHEDULE

ENGLAND

BEDFORDSHIRE. C.C.

(a) *At Shire Hall, Bedford* :—

Local War Records are being collected by the County Records Cttee., and are open to inspection by accredited investigators on due notice. In muniment rooms :—

Agricultural Exec. Cttee. (all docs. are being deposited).

County Appeal Tribunal (docs. to be deposited).

War Pensions Cttee., 1916–18 (all docs. and see below).

Local Relief Cttee. (all docs.).

Emergency Defence Cttee., including Special Constables (all docs. confidential—special permission to search necessary).

Special Memorandum of County Director of Education.

Local B.R.C. (docs.).

Agricultural Training Centre (docs.).

Organizations for Women's Work (docs. to be deposited).

Messrs. Allen, Queen's Park Engineering Works (full record of war activity to be deposited).

War Diaries of Yeomanry and Territorials (confidential—special permission to search necessary).

(b) *Outlying* :—

At respective local offices: War Pensions Cttee., 1918→ (County Records Cttee. will attempt to secure these for Muniment Rooms); British Legion, including Fed. of D. & D. S. & S. (Bedford); War Savings Cttees. (Bedford and Luton).

With respective local secretaries: S. & S.F.A. and S. & S.H.S.; P. of W. Fund.

Files of Local Newspapers (2) at their respective offices.

(c) *With Local Authorities* (T.C., U.D.C., R.D.C.) :—

Coal Control; Food Control; Local Military Tribunals; National Registration.

LUTON. T.C. Pop. 57,077.

(a) *At Town Hall*. Chief Records of War Organizations destroyed by

fire at Town Hall, 1919. Existing Records :—

Coal Control (partially recreated: with Boro' Engineer).

Housing Scheme (all docs.).

P. of W. Fund (some docs.).

(b) *Forwarded to Head-quarters* :—

Food Control, 1919–21, to Ministry of Food.

(c) *Outlying* :—

Special Constables (all docs.) in custody of Chief Constable.

War Savings Cttee. (some docs.) at local Education Offices.

At respective local Offices: War Pensions Cttee. (including Hospitals and Training Centres for Disabled); British Legion (including Fed. of D. & D. S. & S.).

With respective local secretaries: Belgian Refugees Cttee.; S. & S.F.A. (lists of payments, &c.); Waste Paper Scheme; Local B.R.C.

Files of local newspapers (3) at their respective offices.

BERKSHIRE.

Reading. T.C. Pop. 92,274.

(a) *At Town Hall* :—

Belgian Refugee Cttee., 1914–18 (reports *re* formation and see below).

Coal Control, 1917–19 (all docs.).

Food Control (some corresp.).

Local Military Tribunal, 1915–18 (all docs.).

Recruiting Cttee., 1914–16 (some docs. and see below).

National Registration, 1915–19 (all docs.).

National Service Cttee., 1917 (general papers).

Advisory Cttee., for substitution of women, 1917 (general papers).

Local Representative Cttee. *re* National Relief Fund, 1914–19 (papers *re* formation and appeal for funds and see below).

War Savings Cttee., 1916→ (all docs. with Cttee.).

Flag Day Cttee., 1914–18 (papers *re* appeals).

Queen's 'Work for Women' (some corresp. and see below).

(b) Forwarded to Head-quarters :—

Food Control (minutes, accts., registers, lists) to Food Dept., Bd. of Trade.

(c) Outlying :—

At Local War Pensions Office ; docs. of that Cttee. and of S. & S.F.A., S. & S.H.S.

At Office of Education Cttee. ; docs. re lending schools to military authorities, use of manual instruction centres for munitions and hospital appliances, education of Belgian and Serbian Refugees, management of National Kitchens.

At Police Station : registers of Special Constables, 1914-18.

With Council of Social Welfare : docs. of local Representative Cttee., re National Relief Fund, 1914-19.

At respective local offices : County Branch, B.R.C. ; Y.M.C.A. ; Y.W.C.A. ; British Legion (including Fed. of D. & D. S. & S.).

With respective local secretaries : Belgian Refugees Cttee., 1914-18 (minutes, accts., registers, lists of offers of hospitality, reports, embarkation returns) ; Recruiting Cttee., 1914-16 (some docs.) ; Benevolent Cttee., in connexion with War Pensions Cttee., 1915-18 (minutes, accts.) ; War Savings Assocs., 1916 ; War Supply Depot ; Care and Comforts Cttee. ; Comrades of the Great War ; Queen's 'Work for Women'.

Files of local newspapers (4) at their respective offices.

Local War History : 'Berkshire and the War' (*Reading Standard* : 'History of the War').

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE. No returns.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE. No returns.

CHESHIRE.

Congleton. B.C. Pop. 11,746.

(a) At Council Offices. Open to inspection.

Belgian Refugees Cttee., 1914-19 (all docs.).

Coal Control, 1918-20 (all docs.).

Food Control, 1917-20 (all docs.).

National Registration, 1915-19 (original returns, corresp., &c.).

Local Relief Cttee., 1914-19 (minutes, accts., original applications for relief, particulars of relief, corresp., reports).

Special Constables, 1914-18 (register).

Records of War Activities of Council among usual records of Council.

(b) Outlying :—

Recruiting Cttee., at Drill Hall.

War Pensions Cttee. (including some papers of S. & S.F.A.) ; British Legion, two branches (including Fed. of D. & D. S. & S.), at respective local offices.

With respective local secretaries : S. & S.F.A. (minutes, accts., and some papers, 1914-16, with secretaries for Soldiers' and Territorials' Families' respectively) ; War Savings Cttee. (minutes, particulars of amounts raised, lists of associations) ; Mayoress's Working Party (accts. and papers) ; S. & S.H.S. ; Local B.R.C. ; P. of W. Fund ; Hospital for Disabled ; Volunteer Force ; V.A.D.

Files of Local Newspapers at offices of same.

Ellesmere Port and Whitby. U.D.C. Pop. 10,000.

(a) At Council Offices :—

Coal Control, 1918-20 (minutes, accts.), with Surveyor to Council.

Local Military Tribunal, 1915-18 (minutes, corresp., original applications for exemption, registers of same, papers re decisions).

National Registration, 1915-18 (original returns, corresp., &c.)

Profiteering Cttee.

Minutes of Council (see for particulars of commercial training for girls, road and sewage relief work).

(b) Forwarded to Head-quarters :—

Food Control to Preston (*q.v.*).

Recruiting Cttee., to Birkenhead Town Hall.

(c) Outlying :—

War Relief Cttee. (opened with funds of Charity Organization Society) Minutes to be preserved in Free Library. Sub-Cttees : (1) Feeding of Children and Relief of Distress. (2) P. of W. Care Cttee. (3) Belgian Relief Fund (some docs. with sec.). (4) For Finding Homes for War Orphans. (5) V.A.D. Training.

War Pensions Cttee. at local offices. Allotment Soc. ; S. & S.F.A., 1914 ; S. & S.H.S., 1916 (at Chester) ;

War Savings Cttee. ; with respective local secretaries.
 Special Constables (records at Police Station).
 Fed. of D. & D. S. & S., 1919-21 (minutes, lists of members, pension and distress cases, particulars of philanthropic work among dependents of deceased soldiers) will be preserved at local branch of British Legion.

CORNWALL.

Launceston. T.C. Pop. 3,981.

- (a) *In Muniment Rooms of Corporation.*
 Open to inspection.
 Local Military Tribunal (for Boro').
 Housing Scheme (all docs.).
 Coal Control, 1920 (a few docs. with Boro' Surveyor).
 (b) *Forwarded to Head-quarters :—*
 Recruiting Cttee. to Bodmin.
 (c) *Outlying :—*
 At respective offices : War Pensions Cttee. ; Y.M.C.A. ; Fed. of D. & D. S. & S. ; Women's Institute (for Women's War Work).
 With respective local secretaries :
 Food Control ; Local Military Tribunal (for R.D.C.) ; War Relief Cttee. ; Local B.R.C. ; War Supply Depot ; P. of W. Fund.
 Files of local newspaper (2) at their respective local offices.

CUMBERLAND.

Carlisle. T.C. Pop. 52,600.

- (a) *At Town Clerk's Office :—*
 Local Military Tribunal (some docs.).
 Local Distress Cttee.
 National Registration (some docs.).
 (b) *Forwarded to Head-quarters :—*
 Food Control to Preston, q.v.
 (c) *With Carlisle Citizens' League :—*
 Prisoners of War Care Cttee. (reports, corresp., lists, registers, &c.).
 S. & S.H.S., 1914→ ; Rest and Refreshment Rooms for Soldiers, 1914-18 ; Egg Collection, 1915-18 ; Nursing, 1914→ ; Auctioneers' Fund ; War Savings Cttee. and Assoc., 1915→ ; Sugar for Hospitals, 1916-18 ; Food Economy Campaign, 1916-17 (reports, &c.) ; National Service, 1916-18 ; Special Constables, 1914-18 ; Printed Reports of Work of League, 1914-22.

DERBYSHIRE.

Heanor. U.D.C. Pop. 19,000.

- (a) *At Council Offices.* Not public.
 Coal Control (all docs.).
 Food Control (card indexes, lists, &c.).
 Local Military Tribunal (all docs.).
 National Registration (card indexes).
 (b) *Forwarded to Head-quarters :—*
 Food Control (minutes, accts., corresp.).
 (c) *Outlying :—*
 War Savings Cttee. with local secretary.

DEVONSHIRE.

Exeter. C.C. Pop. 59,608.

- (a) *At Town Clerk's Office :—*
 Food Control ; Local Military Tribunal ; Lord Derby's Scheme ; Civil Relief Cttee. ; War Savings Cttee. ; War Loans Campaigns.
 (b) *In City Muniment Rooms :—*
 Minute Books and other Records of :
 Comforts to Troops Cttee. ; Vegetable and Fruit for Navy Cttee. ; P. of W. Fund ; Hospitality to Troops Cttee. ; Belgian Refugees Cttee. ; B.R.C. Hospital Cttee. ; other minor activities.
 Local Publication on City's War Activities in progress.

Torquay. B.C. Pop. 39,432.

- (a) *At Town Hall :—*
 Local Military Tribunal.
 (b) *Forwarded to Head-quarters :—*
 Coal Control and Food Control to Bristol.
 (c) *Outlying :—*
 At respective local offices : War Pensions Cttee. ; National Kitchen, 1917→ ; War Savings Cttee., 1916→ (including War Loan Campaigns) ; Y.M.C.A., 1914→.
 With respective local secretaries :
 Mayoress's Flag Day Cttee. ; P. of W. Fund, 1916-19 (including special Cttee.) ; Minesweepers and Patrol Boats Depot, 1917-18 ; Home for Wounded Belgian Soldiers ; Belgian Hostel, 1914-17 ; Devon Herb Industry (aided by proceeds from Waste Paper Collections, &c.) ; Local B.R.C. Hospitals, 1914-19 ; Convalescent Home for Blinded Soldiers and Sailors

Cttee., 1915-18; Queen Mary's Needlework Guild, 1914-19; Mayor's Hospital Fund, 1914-20; St. John Ambulance Brigade, 1914-; War Supply Depot, 1915-18.

Short account of War Activities printed in Torquay Directory, 23 July 1919.

DORSETSHIRE. No returns.

DURHAM. C.C.

At Shire Hall, Durham. Local War Records in possession of C.C. are open to inspection.

Consett. U.D.C. Pop. 11,000.

(a) *At Clerk's Office.* Open to inspection. Local Military Tribunal, 1916-18 (all docs.).

National Registration, 1915-19 (original returns, card indexes).

S. & S.F.A., 1914-18 (some docs.).

Local Relief Cttee., 1914-18 (some docs.).

Special Cttee. of Council, 1914-18 (docs. with permanent records of Council).

(b) *At Surveyor's Office.* Open to inspection.

Coal Control, 1918-20 (minutes, accts., card indexes, registers, corresp., &c.).

(c) *Forwarded to Head-quarters* :—

Food Control, 1917-20, to Ministry of Food.

(d) *Outlying* :—

At local offices: British Legion (including Fed. of D. & D. S. & S.); Y.M.C.A.

Local B.R.C. with secretary.

Files of local newspapers at their respective offices.

Darlington. C.B.C. Pop. 65,866.

(a) *At Council Offices* :—

Coal Control, 1918-20 (accts. with Boro' Accountant).

Local Military Tribunal, 1915-18 (all docs.).

Local Relief Cttee., 1914, including relief of post-war distress (all docs.).

Local Employment Cttee. (docs. with usual records of Council).

Comforts for Soldiers Fund (docs. at Education Offices).

(b) *At Public Library* :—

Files of Local Newspapers; Collection of local war material.

(c) *Forwarded to Head-quarters* :—

Food Control and Food Economy Cttees., to Food Control Record Office.

(d) *Outlying* :—

At respective local offices: Local War Pensions Cttee. (including S. & S.F.A.); Y.M.C.A.; Fed. of D. & D. S. & S.

With respective local secretaries: Belgian Refugees Cttee., 1914-19 (minutes, accts., registers, lists of offers of hospitality, corresp.), 1914-16 (private report), 1920 (official report); War Savings Cttee.

Shildon and East Thickley. U.D.C. Pop. 13,000.

(a) *At Council Offices* :—

Belgian Refugees Cttee., 1914-16 (minutes).

Coal Control, 1918-20 (all docs.).

Local Military Tribunal, 1916-18 (all docs.).

National Registration (original returns, corresp., &c.).

Public Health and Housing, 1914-18 (minutes of Council).

(b) *Forwarded to Head-quarters* :—

Food Control to Bd. of Trade, Food Dept.

(c) *Outlying* :—

With respective local secretaries: B.R.C.; War Supply Depot; P. of W. Fund; Fed. of D. & D. S. & S.

South Shields. B.C. Pop. 116,667.

(a) *At Town Hall* :—

Coal Control, 1917-20; Local Military Tribunal, 1916-19 (all docs.).

Local Relief Cttee., 1914-19 (minutes, accts.).

Local Emergency Cttee., in conjunction with Army Authorities, 1914-18 (some records, see below).

(b) *Outlying* :—

War Pensions Cttee., 1917, including S. & S.H.S. (all docs.) at local offices.

Local Emergency Cttee. (minutes, corresp.) with Army Authorities. Food Control; War Savings Cttee.

and Assoc.; Comforts Fund; with respective local secretaries.
Special Constables (Records of Service) with Chief Constable.

West Hartlepool. C.B.C. Pop. 68,689.

At Public Library :—

Album of Press Cuttings and Photographs *re* bombardment, 1914.

Memorial Record of Hartlepool Fallen.

Local War History, *Hartlepoons and the Great War, 1914-19.*

ESSEX. C.C.

(a) *In custody of County Council :—*

Agricultural Exec. Cttee., 1917-20 (accts. and see below).

Standing Joint Cttee. for Police and Special Constables, 1914-19.

(b) *Outlying :—*

Agricultural Exec. Cttee., 1915-20 (minutes, corresp., reports, returns, statistics of production, registers, &c.).

Recruiting Cttee., with Essex Territorial Association.

War Pensions Cttee., at local offices (case papers, card indexes, &c.).

Walthamstow. U.D.C. Pop. 127,441.

(a) *At Central Public Library :—*

Local Volunteers, 1914-18 (minutes).

Local Advisory Cttee. (report).

Photographs of Air-raid damage, &c.

Files of local newspapers.

Roll of Service of Walthamstow men, 1914-18.

Woodford. U.D.C. Pop. 18,000.

(a) *At Council Offices :—*

Coal Control, 1917-19; Local Military Tribunal, 1916-19.

National Registration, 1915-18 (original returns, corresp.).

Local Relief Cttee., 1914-18.

(b) *Forwarded to Head-quarters :—*

Food Control, 1917-19 (all docs.).

War Pensions Cttee., 1914-19, including S. & S.F.A., and S. & S.H.S. (all docs.), to Leyton War Pensions Cttee.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE. C.C.

(a) *At Shire Hall, Gloucester :—*

Belgian Refugees Cttee.; Agricultural Exec. Cttee.; Local Relief Cttee.; Education Cttee.; P. of W. Fund (all docs. to be deposited).

(b) *Outlying :—*

Police and Special Constables with Chief Constable, Cheltenham.

War Pensions Cttee., with Chief Area Officer, Gloucester.

War Savings Cttee., at Capital and Counties Bank, Gloucester.

With respective local secretaries: S. & S.F.A.; S. & S.H.S.; Local B.R.C.; Lord Lieutenant's Fund; County Federation of Women's Institutes, 1918→ (minutes).

Files of local newspapers at local offices of same.

(c) *With Local Authorities* (U.D.C. and R.D.C.):

Coal Control; Food Control; Local Military Tribunals; National Registration; Housing Schemes.

Bristol. C.C. Pop. 377,061.

At Central Reference Library :—

National Recruiting Cttee., 1914-20 (minutes).

Roll of Honour, &c., 1920 (type-written).

Files of local newspapers.

Local War History: *Bristol and the Great War, 1914-19*, G. F. Stone and Charles Wells, 1920.

For Records of Bristol University College and Chamber of Commerce see *sub titulis*.

HAMPSHIRE (Southampton). C.C.

At County Council Offices, The Castle, Winchester. Open to inspection.

Agricultural Exec. Cttee., 1916-20 (all docs.).

County Appeal Tribunal, 1916-18 (all docs.).

County Relief Cttee., 1914-18 (all docs.).

Special Constables, 1914-19 (appointments).

Files of local newspapers at their respective offices, Winchester.

ISLE OF WIGHT. C.C.

(a) *At County Hall, Newport :—*

Agricultural Exec. Cttee. (various papers).

County Relief Cttee. (all docs.).

File of Isle of Wight County Press.

(b) *Outlying :—*

War Pensions Cttee., at local offices (including all docs. of former Cttee.)
Special Constables with Chief Constable.

HEREFORDSHIRE. No returns.

HERTFORDSHIRE.

Barnet. U.D.C. Pop. 10,000.

(a) *At Council Offices* :—

Belgian Refugees Cttee. (local register).

Local Military Tribunal (minutes, corresp., copies of applications for exemption).

(b) *Forwarded to Head-quarters* :—

Local Military Tribunal (original applications for exemption).

Food Control to Bd. of Trade, Food Dept.

(c) *Outlying* :—

With respective local secretaries :
Coal Control ; War Savings.

St. Albans. B.C. Pop. 25,588.

(a) *At Council Offices* :—

Reports of Food Control ; War Pensions Cttee. ; Local Military Tribunal.

(b) *At Public Library* :—

Collections of pamphlets, handbills, posters, &c., relating to war activities.

Files of local newspapers.

HUNTINGDONSHIRE. No returns.

KENT.

Beckenham. U.D.C. Pop. 32,900.

(a) *At Council Offices.* Open to inspection.

Local Military Tribunal, 1916-18 (minutes, registers of applications for exemption, &c.).

Housing Scheme of Council 1918→ (contract docs., applications for houses).

Belgian Refugees Cttee. (1st branch) (minutes, accts., &c.).

(b) *Forwarded to Head-quarters* :—

Food Control (all docs.).

(c) *Outlying* :—

At respective local offices : War Pensions Sub-Cttee. ; United Services Club ; Allotment Soc. Ltd., 1916→ (minutes, accts., corresp., reports : open to inspection, and see files of local newspapers).

Fed. of D. & D. S. & S.

With respective local secretaries :
Belgian Refugees Cttee. (2nd branch), 1914-19 (minutes) ; S. &

S.F.A. ; Local Relief Cttee., 1914-18 ; War Savings Cttee. and Assocs. ; War Supply Depot.

New Romney. B.C. Pop. 1,605.

(a) *With Town Clerk* :—

Food Control, 1917-20 (minutes, accts.).

Local Military Tribunal, 1916-18 (minutes).

National Registration, 1915-18 (original returns).

Local Relief Cttee, 1914-19 (minutes, accts., original applications for relief, case papers, lists, particulars of relief).

War Emergency Measures of Council (precautions to be observed in case of enemy landing).

Public Health (reports of M.O.H. and Inspector).

(b) *Outlying* :—

With respective local secretaries :
Coal Control, 1918-20 (all docs.) ; Romney Marsh War Agricultural Cttee., 1915-18 minutes, corresp., reports, returns, lists) ; War Savings Assoc., 1917-21 (accts., lists) ; Special Constables, 1914-18 (with former Head) ; Y.M.C.A. ; P. of W. Fund.

Penge. U.D.C. Pop. 22,300.

At Public Library :—

Records of Relief supplied by Local Philanthropic Soc. ; Belgian Refugees Cttee. ; V.A.D.'s ; National Kitchen Cttee.

LANCASHIRE.

Bacup. B.C. Pop. 21,256.

(a) *At Municipal Offices.* Open to inspection.

Belgian Refugees Cttee., 1914-19 (accts.), and Food Control, 1917-20 (accts.), in Boro' Treasurer's Office.

Coal Control, 1918-20, in Boro' Engineer's Office.

Local Military Tribunal, 1916-18 (all docs.) ; National Registration (all docs.) ; Local Relief Cttee., 1914-15 (minutes) with Town Clerk.

(b) *With War Pensions Cttee.*, Market Hall :—

War Pensions Cttee., 1916 ; Local War Pensions Special Grants, 1920-2 ; S. & S.F.A., and S. &

S.H.S., 1914-21; Joint Cttee. of S. & S.F.A. and United Services Fund, 1921.

Local Military Tribunal, 1914-19 (Register for claims of separation allowances for dependants).

Local B.R.C. and other War Charities.

(c) *With Chief Constable* :—

All records concerning Special Constables.

(d) *Outlying* :—

At local offices : Fed. of D. & D. S. & S.

With respective local secretaries : Belgian Refugees Cttee. (except as above); War Savings Cttee. (books and records).

Blackburn. B.C. Pop. 133,000.

(a) *At Town Hall.* Open to inspection.

Belgian Refugees Cttee. (minutes, accts., registers, lists of offers of hospitality, reports and returns, &c.).

Coal Control (minutes, accts., original returns, statistics of consumption, &c.).

Local Military Tribunal (all docs.)

Recruiting Cttee. (all docs.).

National Registration (some docs.).

National Relief Fund and Local Relief Cttee. (all docs.).

Reports on State of Employment.

Housing Scheme (all docs.).

Register of War Charities.

(b) *At Public Library* :—

P. of W. Help Cttee. (docs.).

Card Index of Volunteers.

Files of local newspapers, newspaper biographies of soldiers and sailors.

(c) *Forwarded to Head-quarters* :—

Food Control, 1916-20, to Preston, *q.v.*

(d) *Outlying* :—

War Savings Cttee., 1916 → (all docs.), at Savings Bank.

Police and Special Constables, records with Chief Constable.

Public Health, records with Medical Officer of Health.

War Pensions Cttee. at local Office.

Profiteering Cttee. with local secretary.

Bolton. C.B.C. Pop. 180,800.

(a) *At Town Hall* :—

Coal Control, 1918-20 (minutes, accts., corresp.).

Local Military Tribunal, 1915-18 (all docs. at present).

Local Relief Cttee., 1920 (minutes, accts., and see below).

(b) *Forwarded to Head-quarters* :—

Food Control, 1917-21 (to Ministry of Food).

(c) *Outlying* :—

Belgian Refugees Cttee., 1914-19 (all docs.), in custody of Director of Education.

Local Relief Cttee., 1914-19 (record of cases, &c.); S. & S.F.A., 1914-19; S. & S.H.S., 1914-19, in custody of Guild of Help.

Food Economy Cttee., 1916-17 (minutes, accts, corresp., reports); War Savings Cttees. and Assocs., 1916 → (minutes, accts., corresp., reports, at 2 Corporation Chambers in custody of Mr. F. H. Parkinson). War Pensions Cttee., 1916 (all docs.), at local offices.

Bolton Allotments Council, records *re* many Voluntary Allotment Societies at local office, 5 Arnold Street.

Women's Relief Corps, 1915-19, including War Supply Depot: records with Mrs. Percy Musgrave, 'Brookland', Bolton, and comprise four printed reports of Women's Relief Corps, minutes, 1915-19 (including newspaper cuttings, agenda, some corresp.), volume of letters of thanks, 1916-19, lists of members and voluntary workers, &c., corresp., &c., of War Supply Depot.

P. of War Fund (L.N.L. Regt.), docs. with former secretary.

At respective local offices : Y.M.C.A.; Fed. of D. & D. S. & S.; Comrades of the Great War.

At *Bolton Evening News* Office : Files of local newspaper; P. of W. Fund, 2nd branch (minutes, accts., &c.).

Burnley. C.B.C. Pop. 103,175.

(a) *At Town Hall* :—

Belgian Refugees Cttee. (accts.).

Coal Control (accts., minutes among Council's minutes).

Food Control (minutes among Council's minutes).

Local Relief Cttee. (accts.).

War Savings Cttee., 1916 → (all docs.).

Lord Roberts Memorial Workshops.

Local Relief Cttee., 1914-15 (minutes,

case papers, registers, corresp., reports, returns, records of women's employment).

Profiteering Cttee. (miscellaneous information).

National Kitchens (miscellaneous information).

B.R.C. Society; P. of W. Fund; List of Fallen taken from local newspapers.

(b) *Forwarded to Head-quarters* :—

Food Control (except as above).

Agricultural Exec. Cttee. (to Preston, *q.v.*).

Military Service Advisory Cttee.

War Savings Assocs. to National Savings Cttee.

(c) *At Public Reference Library* :—

Belgian Refugees Cttee. (all docs. except as above).

Coal Control (statistics of consumptions, corresp., &c.).

Food Control (miscellaneous information).

Local Military Tribunal, 1916-18 (minutes, registers of and decisions on applications, corresp., &c.).

National Registration (corresp.).

War Pensions Cttee. (early corresp.).

S. & S.F.A. (general record book).

(d) *Outlying* :—

War Pensions Cttee. at local offices; S. & S.H.S. with local secretary; Police and Special Constables, 1914-18 (with Chief Constable), full war record and register.

Hindley. U.D.C. Pop. 24,100.

(a) *At Council Offices* :—

Belgian Refugees Cttee., 1914-17 (docs. with Clerk).

Coal Control, 1918-20 (docs. with Surveyor).

Food Control, 1917-20 (docs. with Clerk).

Allotment Soc., 1914→ (docs. with Surveyor).

Local Military Tribunal, 1915-18 (docs. with Clerk).

National Registration, 1915-19 (docs. with Clerk).

S. & S.F.A., 1914-16 (docs. with Clerk).

Local Relief Cttee., 1914-17 (docs. with Clerk).

State of Employment, Education, Public Health, Housing (see usual records of Council).

(b) *Outlying* :—

For Local War Pensions Cttee. see under Wigan.

With respective local secretaries: Local Fund, V.A.D.

Littleborough. U.D.C. Pop. 11,000.

(a) *At Council Offices* :—

Belgian Refugees Cttee., 1914-18 (all docs.).

Coal Control (all docs.).

Local Military Tribunal, 1915-18.

National Registration, 1915-19 (original returns, corresp.).

P. of W. Fund.

(b) *Forwarded to Head-quarters* :—

Food Control, 1917-20, to Preston, *q.v.*

(c) *Outlying* :—

War Savings Cttee., 1916→; Queen Mary's Needlework Guild; Lancs. Fusiliers' Comforts Fund: with respective local secretaries.

Manchester, City C., and Salford, B.C. Total pop. 964,701.

The Manchester and Salford War Records Committee is making a collection of Local War Records, which will probably be deposited in the Free Library. The Town Clerk has ordered the Departments of the Corporation to deposit their War Records in the Committee's care.

Collection of War Records :—

Belgian Relief Funds; Italian Red Cross, &c., 30 files.

Civilian Prisoners in Germany Relief Fund, 30 files.

Manchester Volunteer Defence Corps Records.

Women's Social League: Reports and papers.

B.R.C.: Reports.

Pharmaceutical Society: Report.

Salford Corporation: Posters, orders, and circulars.

Audenshaw U.D.C.: Food Control Records; Recruiting and Appeal Records, &c.

Oldham. B.C. Pop. 145,000.

(a) *At Town Hall* :—

Coal Control, 1918-20 (minutes, accts., lists, corresp., statistics of consumption).

National Registration (statistical returns).

(b) At Central Library :—

P. of W. Fund, 1918-22 (minutes, accts., corresp., lists of subscribers, particulars of cases relieved).

re Volunteers for Work of National Importance, 1917 (minutes, corresp.).

re Tank Week, 1918 (minutes, corresp.).

Book of Honour; Local Pals Batt. (24th Manchester Regt.); Files of local newspapers.

(c) Forwarded to Head-quarters :—

Food Control to Bd. of Trade, Food Dept.

(d) Outlying :—

Belgian Refugees Cttee., 1914-20 (minutes, accts., lists of offers of hospitality, corresp.), at Prudential Buildings.

War Pensions Cttee., 1916→ (minutes, accts., case papers, corresp., registers) at local offices.

With respective local secretaries: Recruiting Cttee., 1915→ (minutes); S. & S.F.A.; S. & S.H.S.; Local Relief Cttee., 1914-22 (all docs.).

The Town Council is making a collection of any War Records that Local Organizations will hand over, and a list of others to notify their location.

Preston. B.C. Pop. 117,426.*(a) At Town Hall :—*

Belgian Refugees Cttee., 1914-19 (all docs.).

Coal Control, 1917-20 (minutes, accts.).

Food Control, 1917-20 (minutes, accts., and see below).

Small Holdings and Allotments' Cttee., 1916→ (all docs.).

Local Military Tribunal, 1915-18 (all docs.).

National Registration, 1915-18 (all docs.).

S. & S.F.A., 1914-16 (accts., original applications for allowances).

Local Relief Cttee., 1915-21 (minutes, accts., original applications, corresp., reports, returns).

War Savings Cttee., 1916→ (all docs.).

Emergency Cttees. of Council, 1914-18 (minutes, &c.).

Special Constables, 1916-19 (register of attendances).

Housing Cttee., 1919→ (minutes, accts., corresp., original applications for tenancy).

War Supply Depot and Comforts for Soldiers.

(b) Forwarded to Head-quarters :—

Food Control, 1917-20 (forms, &c.).

(c) Outlying :—

War Pensions Cttee., including S. & S.F.A., 1916→ (all docs.); Y.W.C.A.; Fed. of D. & D. S. & S.: respective local offices.

B.R.C. Soc., 1914-19, at County Court Offices (including minutes, accts., corresp., *re* Moor Park Hospital).

S. & S.H.S.; Relief Cttees. for twelve wards; War Savings Assocs.; Y.M.C.A. (proceedings of Exec. Cttee. and membership records): with respective local secretaries.

Local War History, 1914-19, *For Remembrance*, by Sir H. Cartmell. Files of local newspapers at Free Public Library.

Rochdale. B.C. Pop. 90,807.*(a) At Town Hall :—*

Some records relating to Coal Control; Food Control; Local Military Tribunal; National Registration; Local Relief Cttee.; War Savings Cttee.

(b) Outlying :—

War Pensions Cttee. at local office.

With respective local secretaries: Belgian Refugees Cttee.; S. & S.F.A.; S. & S.H.S.; Recruiting Cttee. and various War Charities.

Royton. U.D.C. Pop. 17,000.*(a) At Council Offices :—*

Belgium Refugees Cttee., 1914-19 (minutes, accts., corresp., reports, returns).

Coal Control, 1918-20 (minutes, accts., original returns, statistics of consumption, registers, corresp.).

Food Control Cttee., 1917-20 (minutes, and see below).

Food Economy Cttee., 1917-18 (all docs.).

Local Military Tribunal, 1915-19 (minutes, corresp., &c.).

National Service Cttee., 1917 (minutes, corresp., reports).

National Registration, 1915-19 (corresp., &c.).

War Pensions Cttee., 1917 → (minutes, and see below).

S. & S.F.A. ; S. & S.H.S. (some docs.).
Local Relief Cttee., 1914 → (minutes, accts., summaries of grants).

War Savings Cttee., 1914 →, including War Loans Campaigns (all docs.).

Cttee. for raising funds for various appeals (22) (all docs.).

Housing Scheme ; Comforts for Soldiers Fund ; P. of W. Fund.

(b) *At Public Library* :—

Files of local newspapers.

(c) *Forwarded to Head-quarters* :—

Food Control (accts.) to Preston, *q.v.* (original returns, corresp., registers, &c.), to Oldham, *q.v.*

War Pensions Cttee., 1917 → (except as above), at Oldham, *q.v.*

(d) *Outlying* :—

At local offices : Allotments and Gardeners' Assoc. ; Comrades of the Great War.

Stretford. U.D.C. Pop. 46,500.

(a) *At Council Offices.* Applications for inspection considered.

Belgian Refugees Cttee., 1914-16 (minutes, registers, lists, corresp., reports, returns, &c., with Clerk ; accts. with Accountant).

Coal Control, 1917-20 (minutes, original returns, statistics of consumption, registers, corresp., &c., with Surveyor ; accts. with Accountant).

Allotment Assoc. (records of Council's Co-operation, see below).

Local Military Tribunal, 1915-18 (all docs.).

National Registration, 1915-20 (original returns).

War Pensions Cttee., 1916-22 (all docs.).

Local Relief Cttee., 1914-16 (all docs., see below).

War Savings Cttee., 1916-21 (papers re constitution of Local Cttee., prelim., corresp., see below).

War Emergency Measures of Council (minutes of Council).

Public Health (minutes of Health Cttee.) ; Housing Scheme (all docs.).

Temporary Schools to replace Schools used as Hospitals, 1915-18 (minutes of Education Cttee.) ; Wel-

fare of H.M. Forces (particulars of Council's activities filed).

Lancs. War Comforts Assoc. (records of Council's co-operation) War Statistics, 1914-21 (Summary).

(b) *Forwarded to Head-quarters* :—

Food Control, 1916-20 (all docs.), to Chester.

(c) *Outlying* :—

Civil Relief, 1916-18 (all docs.), with local Civic Guild of Help. Special Constables (record with Lancs. Police Authorities).

With respective local secretaries : War Savings Cttee., 1916-21 (minutes, accts., reports, &c.) ; War Savings Assocs. (docs. with local firms) ; Allotment Assoc.

Walton-le-Dale. U.D.C. Pop. 12,000.

(a) *At Council Offices* :—

Coal Control ; Local Military Tribunal ; National Registration ; War Savings Cttee. ; Public Health (usual records) ; Housing Scheme (minutes).

(b) *Forwarded to Head-quarters* :—

Food Control to Divisional Officer.

Warrington. C.B.C. Pop. 76,810.

(a) *At Town Hall.* Open to inspection.

Belgian Refugees Cttee., 1914-17 (minutes, registers, lists of offers of hospitality, corresp., reports with Town Clerk, accts. with Treasurer).
Coal Control (all docs. with Boro' Surveyor).

Food Control (docs. with Town Clerk).
National Registration (all docs. with Town Clerk).

S. & S.H.S., 1915 (all docs. with Deputy Town Clerk).

Local Relief Cttee., 1914 (all docs. with Deputy Town Clerk).

Housing Scheme (all docs. with Town Clerk and Boro' Surveyor).

P. of W. Fund (docs. with Deputy Town Clerk).

(b) *At Public Library* :—

Local B.R.C. ; Files of local newspapers ; Collection of material re local war activities.

(c) *Forwarded to Head-quarters* :—

War Savings Assocs. to National Savings Cttee.

(d) *Outlying* :—

At respective local offices : War Pensions Cttee., 1916 (all docs.) ;

War Savings Cttee. (all docs.); Y.M.C.A.; British Legion.

With respective local secretaries: Agricultural Exec. Cttee. (docs. at present confidential, to be preserved); S. & S.F.A. 1914→; Comforts for Soldiers Fund (at Conservative and Liberal Clubs).

Local War Histories: Publications of Activities of Local Firms; War Diaries, &c., with Alderman Bennet, Paddington House, Warrington.

Wigan. C.B.C. Pop. 89,447.

(a) *At Town Hall and Municipal Buildings* :—

Belgian Refugees Cttee., 1915-19 (minutes, lists of offers of hospitality, corresp., &c., with Town Clerk; accts. with Boro' Treasurer)

Coal Control (minutes, original returns, corresp., &c., with Boro' Engineer; accts. with Boro' Treasurer).

Food Control, 1917-20 (minutes with Town Clerk, accts. with Boro' Treasurer, and see below).

Agricultural Exec. Sub-Cttee. (all docs. with Town Clerk).

Allotment Cttee. (all docs. with Town Clerk).

Local Military Tribunal (all docs. with Town Clerk).

Local Representative Relief Cttee., 1914-18, including work of S. & S.F.A. (minutes with Town Clerk, accts. with Boro' Treasurer).

Special Local Relief Fund Cttee., to supplement relief under National Relief Fund (minutes with Town Clerk).

War Savings Cttee. and Assocs. (docs. with Boro' Treasurer).

Munitions of War Cttee. (minutes, corresp., with Town Clerk).

Special Constables and Civilians enrolled as Firemen and for Air-raid Emergencies, 1914-18 (minutes with Town Clerk).

Public Health, suspension of notices and postponement of sewage works, 1914-18 (minutes with Town Clerk).

Housing, suspension of closing and demolition orders, 1914-18 (minutes with Town Clerk).

Mayor's Xmas Present Fund for Territorials; Belgians in Belgium Fund; Tank Acct.; S. & S.

Comforts Fund; Military Reward Fund; King's Fund for Disabled; Pte. Woodcock V.C. Fund (docs. with Town Clerk).

(b) *At Central Library* :—

S. & S. Comforts Society (minutes, corresp.).

Pemberton and Orrell Colliery War Relief Fund, 1916-19 (statement of expenditure).

Local B.R.C., 1912-19 (report); Roll of Honour.

Files of local newspapers.

(c) *Forwarded to Headquarters* :—

Food Control, 1917-20 (original returns, corresp., register, lists) to Preston, *q.v.*, for Bd. of Trade, Food Dept.

(d) *Outlying* :—

At respective local offices: Allotment Societies; War Pensions Cttee.

With respective local secretaries: S. & S.H.S.; local B.R.C.; Y.M.C.A. (including S. & S. Rest Rooms); Fed. of D. & D. S. & S.; British Legion.

Training Centre for Disabled Service Men at Wigan Mining and Technical College (see minutes, auxiliary accts. of College Governing Body, special registers, &c.).

LEICESTERSHIRE and Leicester. Pop. (of City) 234,190.

The Leicester and Leicestershire War Records Society has made a collection of War Records for the City and County, which will probably be preserved in the Municipal Reference Library, Leicester. Special Reports have been obtained from persons connected with the various organizations. Applications for inspection should be addressed to the City Librarian.

Records in collection concerning the County of Leicestershire :—

Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, and Rugby Munitions Cttee. (Report by Chairman).

Miners' Assoc. (Report concerning recruiting by Financial Sec.).

Volunteer Forces (Report concerning preliminary training for the army, &c.).

S. & S.H.S. (Report of Chairman of Cttee.).

- Soldiers and Sailors' (central) Gifts Assoc. (Report, 1919).
- War Savings Movement (official Report of Cttee.).
- War Hospitals Cttee. (Reports).
- War-work of Education Cttee. (Report with Index and other Records with illustrative material).
- Constabulary (Report *re* air-raids, with illustrative material, and precautions to be taken in case of enemy invasion, and see below).
- Voluntary Medical Service (Reports by practitioners).
- St. John Ambulance and V.A.D., 1914-19 (Report promised), printed souvenirs.
- P. of W. Cttee. for Leicester, Leicestershire, and Rutland, organized by Churches (printed Report).
- Voluntary Munition Shop, Coalville (Report, illustrated).
- Medical War Cttee. (Leicester and Rutland) to supply Medical Officers for the Army (Report).
- Boy Scouts, 1914-18 (printed Reports).
- Loughborough Technical College, War work (Records).
- Records in collection concerning the City of Leicester :—*
- Belgian Refugees Cttee. (Report by Chairman, and see below).
- Fuel and Lighting Control Cttee., 1918-20 (minutes, corresp., report of action taken under Regulations).
- Food Control Cttee., 1917 (Report of Organizing Sec., three printed Reports).
- Food Economy Cttee. (Pamphlet prepared by Leicester Domestic Training College).
- Military Service Tribunal (Report by Town Clerk, and see below).
- War Relief Cttee., 1914, and National Relief Fund, 1914-15 (Reports).
- War Savings Assoc., 1916 (Report of Secretary).
- Constabulary (Schedule of War Duties, and see below).
- War Work by Schools and School Medical Service (typewritten Report).
- Public Health, 1914-18 (Report by Medical Officer).
- Y.M.C.A. (Report by Secretary).
- St. John Ambulance Assoc. and Brigade (Vaughan College Nursing Divisions) (Reports).
- B.R.C. Sewing Rooms (Report).
- Leicester West-End Assoc., for Recreation, &c. (minutes, printed Reports, catalogue of books, &c., supplied to Military Hospitals, Report of entertainment of Wounded Soldiers, 1917, 1918).
- Hospitality Fund for Relatives of Wounded; S. & S. Xmas Present Fund; Soldiers' Wives Allowances Movement; Boot Distributions (Reports of Proprietors of *Daily Mercury*).
- History of the 5th Northern General Hospital*, compiled by the Medical Officers (permanently deposited in the University College Library).
- Rotary Club, workshops at above hospital (particulars).
- Leather and Basket Work Classes at same (Report by Superintendent).
- Mayoress's Equipment Fund (printed Report—typewritten supplement).
- Hospitality to Colonial Officers and visits to them in Hospitals (Reports).
- Leicester District Armament Groups of Engineering (printed Report, illustrated).
- Training of Service Men at Technical and Art Schools (Report).
- Other Records :—*
- Local Military Tribunal (all docs.) at Town Clerk's Office, Municipal Buildings, Leicester.
- Appeal Tribunal (docs.) at County Council Offices, Leicester.
- Police and Special Constabulary (City and County) at respective Police Stations, Leicester.
- Files of local newspapers (3 daily, 2 weekly) at respective local offices.
- Scouts' *Gazette* at Boy Scouts' Office, Leicester.
- Hinckley.** U.D.C. Pop. 12,000.
- (a) *At Council Offices :—*
- Belgian Refugees Cttee., 1914-19 (minutes, accts., corresp., registers of refugees, report).
- Local Military Tribunal, 1915-18 (all docs. including a report).
- Recruiting Cttee. (all docs.); National Registration, 1915-18 (report).
- National Service; Agricultural Section (report).
- War Pensions Cttee., 1916-19 (report, and see below).
- S. & S.F.A., 1914-16, and S. &

S.H.S., 1914-16 (reports, and see below).

Local Relief Cttee., 1914-19 (minutes dealing with all applications for relief, accts., corresp., report).

War Savings Cttee., 1916-18, including War Loan Campaign (report, and see below).

Special Constables, 1914-18 (report).

Home Defence Corps and Volunteer Training Corps (report).

Local B.R.C., including sales held by local farmers (report, and see below).

P. of W. Cttee. (report, and see below).

Women's War Relief Cttee., for supply of comforts to troops, &c. (report, and see below).

Emergency Cttee. of Council, 1914-18, to deal with War Regulations, &c. (all docs.).

Files of local newspaper.

(b) Outlying :—

War Pensions Cttee. (including S. & S.F.A.) at local Pensions Office, Leicester.

With respective local secretaries :
Coal Control (minutes, accts., original returns, registers, corresp.);
Food Control (all docs.); Agricultural Exec. Cttee.; S. & S.H.S.;
War Savings Cttee.; Local B.R.C.;
P. of W. Cttee.; Women's War Relief Cttee.

Local History, containing reports of the activities of all the above-mentioned bodies is being prepared for publication.

LINCOLNSHIRE (Kesteven). C.C.

(a) At Council Offices :—

Agricultural Exec. Cttee., 1915-20 (all docs.).

(b) Outlying :—

War Pensions Cttee. (minutes, original applications for supplementary allowances, case papers, card indexes).

War Savings Cttee. with local secretaries.

Stamford. B.C. Pop. 9,881.

(a) At Town Hall :—

Belgian Refugees Cttee., 1914-19 (all docs., printed reports).

Coal Control (minutes, accts., card indexes, corresp.).

Local Military Tribunals; National

Registration, 1915-18; S. & S.F.A., 1914; Local Relief Cttee., 1914-; War Savings Cttee.; Emergency Cttee. of Council, 1914-16.

(b) Outlying :—

War Pensions Cttee., 1915-18, at local offices.

Local History: *Stamford and the Great War*, by W. F. Markwick.

LINCOLNSHIRE (Lindsey). C.C.

(a) With County Council :—

War Emergency Measures (in minutes of C.C. and its Cttees.).

Prince of Wales' Relief Fund; Agricultural Exec. Cttee. (some docs., and see minutes of C.C. and its Cttees.).

(b) Outlying :—

War Pensions Cttee. at local offices.

LONDON. C.C. Pop. 4,483,249.

At New County Hall, S.E. 1. Some open to inspection, all to be preserved—

Ceremonial papers, 1914-19 (letters, telegrams, &c., interchanged with National and Foreign Authorities, and *re* Memorial and other Services. Armistice Celebrations, Air-raid Victims, &c., bound, with Index).

Emergency Cttee. of Council, 1914-15 (minutes, bound volumes of papers).

S. & S. Care Cttee., 1914-17 (minutes, bound volumes of papers).

Air Raids, 1916-18 (volume of daily reports of Fire Brigade, printed).

War Charities Cttee. (volumes of bound papers: see minutes of Local Govt. Cttee.).

For Staff Records (including War Service, work for Government Depts., voluntary assistance in Defence of London, &c.); Machinery lent to Government; Manufacture of Munitions; Fire Brigade; Buildings lent to Government; Education (for recruits, war refugees, demobilized and discharged soldiers and sailors; munitioners, &c.); Public Health (accommodation for refugees, hospitals, inspection of soldiers' rest homes); Storage of Explosives; Housing; Gas Testing; Finance (investments in war security, limitation of expenditure, &c.); Food

Supply (Allotments, Food Control, &c.); Defence of London; Employment of Aliens; Air Raid Relief; War Bonuses, &c.: see minutes and bound papers of General Purposes and other Cttees. of Council. In all cases the minutes are indexed, and the papers are arranged according to date.

Publications of the Council relating to the War include:

The Council and the War, by the Clerk of the Council, 1920 (No. 2015).

Annual Reports, 1915-20 (Nos. 2038, 2075-9, 2143).

Roll of Honour; Record of War Service of Staff (No. 2113).

Economy in the Consumption of Food (Nos. 1878, 1889, 1901).

Housing after the War (No. 1937), &c.

London. City C. Pop. 13,706.

(a) *At Guildhall* :—

A detailed Record has been compiled concerning the War Activities of the Lord Mayor and Corporation. It deals with :—

Meetings of Societies at the Mansion House, with their Annual Reports and Speeches made by Cabinet Ministers and Foreign Statesmen on notable occasions.

Food Control Cttee. ; National Relief Fund Cttee.

Local Military Tribunal (received appeals from Bank of England, Stock, Baltic, and Coal Exchanges, leading banks and business houses on behalf of their employees).

City Police and Special Constabulary ; City Branch of B.R.C.

Port Sanitary Authority and Shipping of the Port ; Use of City Parks and open Spaces.

Conduct of Islington Cattle Market, Billingsgate Market, and Smithfield Market.

Presentation of Freedom of City to Colonial Statesmen and Allied War Leaders.

Registration of War Charities.

The original Records of all these Cttees. and Bodies are preserved at the Guildhall.

(b) *Outlying* :—

War Savings and War Pensions Cttees. at local offices.

Volunteer Regiments (including Old Comrades Assocs.) at local offices. Some repository is desirable for the Records of War Charities.

Battersea. M.B.C. Pop. 167,693.

(a) *At Town Hall* :—

Coal Control, 1917-20 (minutes of Advisory Cttee.) will be preserved.

Local Military Tribunal ; Recruiting Cttee. (minutes)—became Advisory Cttee., acting with Military Representative ; Local Relief Cttee.

(b) *Forwarded to Head-quarters* :—

Food Control to Min. of Food and Bd. of Trade (Food Sec.).

Recruiting Cttee. (except as above) to War Office.

(c) *Outlying* :—

Belgian Refugees Cttee., 1914-19 (minutes, accts., corresp., printed reports), will be preserved in custody of former Chairman.

Allotment Holders' Assoc. (minutes, 1917-20, report, 1921) will be preserved in custody of secretary.

War Savings Cttee. and Assocs. ; War Pensions Cttee. ; S. & S.F.A. ; S. & S.H.S. : with respective local secretaries.

Bermondsey. M.B.C. Pop. 119,455.

(a) *At Town Hall.* Open to inspection.

Coal Control (docs. with Boro' Surveyor) ; Local Military Tribunal, 1915-18 (docs. with Town Clerk).

National Registration, 1915-19 (docs. with Town Clerk).

Local Relief Cttee. (docs. with Boro-Treasurer) ; S. & S.F.A. (docs. with Miss Morant).

(b) *At Public Library* :—

Collection of local posters, circulars, &c.

(c) *Forwarded to Head-quarters* :—

Food Control (all docs.) to Min. of Food.

(d) *Outlying* :—

Belgian Refugees Cttee. (docs. with Board of Guardians) ; Recruiting Cttees. (2) (docs. at Drill Hall and Guildford).

At respective local offices : War Pensions Cttee. ; Allotment Soc. ; British Legion (two branches), including Fed. of D. & D. S. & S. With respective local secretaries :

S. & S.H.S.; Local B.R.C.;
Comforts Fund.
Local History: *Bermondsey's Bit in
the Great War*, by Alderman H. T.
MORRIS.

Camberwell. M.B.C. Pop. 267,236.

(a) *At Town Hall* :—

Belgian Refugees Cttee., 1914-19;
Local Military Tribunal, 1916-19
(some docs.); National Registra-
tion, 1915-19 (some docs.).

(b) *Forwarded to Head-quarters* :—

Coal Control (all docs.) to Cambridge
Jail.
Food Control and Food Economy
Cttee. to Bd. of Trade.

Chelsea. M.B.C. Pop. 63,700.

(a) *At Town Hall* :—

War Refugees Cttee. (books and
docs.); Recruiting Cttee. (min-
utes); Distress Cttee., 1914 (all
docs.); War Savings Cttee., 1916 →
(minutes).

(b) *At Public Library* :—

Collection of material relating to local
war activities.

(c) *Forwarded to Head-quarters* :—

Food Control and Food Economy
Cttee., 1917-21, to Min. of Food.

(d) *Outlying* :—

At local offices, War Pensions Cttee.
and S. & S.F.A.; British Legion,
United Services Club, and Fed. of
D. & D. S. & S.

With local Charity Organization
Society: S. & S.H.S.

With local secretaries: War Savings
Assocs.

Deptford. M.B.C. Pop. 112,500.

(a) *At Town Hall* :—

Coal Control (with Boro' Surveyor).
With Town Clerk: Food Control;
Agricultural Exec. Cttee.; Local
Military Tribunal; National Reg-
istration (some docs.); Local
Relief Cttee.; Housing Cttee.,
1919 (all docs.); War Savings
Cttee.

(b) *At Central Library* :—

Belgian Refugees Cttee., 1914-21
(minutes, accts., reports, &c.).

(c) *Outlying* :—

War Pensions Cttee. (file of corresp.,
&c., for each case) at local office.

S. & S.F.A. at office of Charity
Organization Soc.

War Supply Depot with former
secretary.

Files of local newspapers at their
respective offices.

Hackney. M.B.C. Pop. 222,159.

(a) *At Town Hall.* Open to inspection
by appointment.

Special Emergency Cttee. and War
Activities of Council (see official
minutes of Council).

Belgian Refugees Cttee., 1914-19
(Maintenance Accts., and particu-
lars of other payments, registers
of refugees, corresp., re offers of
hospitality, entertainments, funds,
and from refugees, inquiry forms
re employment, reports).

Food Economy Cttee., 1915-17;
National Relief Fund, 1914-20;
Mayor's Appeal for Famine in
Europe, 1920 (minutes, accts.,
corresp.); National Service Cttee.,
1917.

(b) *Forwarded to Head-quarters* :—

Coal Control to Bd. of Trade, Coal
Mines Dept.; Food Control, 1917-
20, to Bd. of Trade, Food Dept.;
Local Military Tribunal and Re-
cruiting Cttee. to Div. Office;
National Registration to Registrar-
General's Dept.; War Savings
Cttee. to National War Savings
Cttee.

(c) *Outlying* :—

At local offices: War Pensions Cttee.;
S. & S.F.A.; S. & S.H.S.

With respective local secretaries:
Hackney Downs Allotment Holders'
Assoc.; Upper Clapton Allotment
Holders' Assoc.; Hackney and
District Smallholders' Soc.; Local
B.R.C.; Hackney Regimental
Ladies' Cttee. (including Comforts
for Soldiers Fund and P. of W.
Fund).

Holborn. M.B.C. Pop. 42,796.

At Council Offices :—

Minutes of Food Control; War Pen-
sions Cttee.; Special Emergency
Cttee.; Recruiting Cttee.;
National Service; Local Military
Tribunal.

Islington. M.B.C. Pop. 330,028.*(a) At Town Hall :—*

Coal Control, 1917–19 (minutes);
Battalion Cttee., 1915–18 (minutes).

National Registration, 1915–19 (original returns, corresp., registers of arrivals, departures, and new registrations, enumeration books with map).

Local Relief Cttee., 1920–1 (minutes).
Stores Sub-Cttee., see for Relief of Distress, 1914–16 (minutes).

Public Safety Control Cttee., 1918 (minutes).

(b) Forwarded to Head-quarters :—

Food Control (all docs.) to Min. of Food.

Lambeth. M.B.C. Pop. 302,960.*(a) At Town Hall.* Open to inspection.

Belgian Refugees Cttee., 1914–18 (all docs.); Coal Control, 1918–21 (some docs. only).

Local Military Tribunal, 1916–18.

Recruiting Cttee., 1915–18 (minutes, corresp.).

National Registration, 1915–19 (card indexes, corresp., &c.).

Local Relief Cttee., 1914–19 (all docs.).

Mayor's Cttee. for Comforts for 11th Q.R.W.S. Regt. (Lambeth Batt.) (papers).

(b) Forwarded to Head-quarters :—

Food Control and Food Economy Cttee., 1917–20, to Food Dept., Bd. of Trade.

(c) Outlying :—

War Savings Cttee. with local secretary.

British Legion (2 branches), including Fed. of D. & D. S. & S., at local offices.

Paddington. M.B.C. Pop. 144,273.*(a) At Town Hall :—*

Coal Control, 1917–20 (some docs. with Boro' Surveyor).

Local Military Tribunal, 1916–18 (docs. with Town Clerk).

National Registration, 1915–21 (original returns, corresp.).

Local Relief Cttee. (docs. with Town Clerk).

War Savings Cttee., 1916→ (minutes, certificates, registers, accts., with Town Clerk, and see below).

Police and Special Constables; Public Health; Housing, &c. (docs. among usual records of Council).

See Minutes of Council.

(b) Forwarded to Head-quarters :—

Food Control to Food Dept., Bd. of Trade.

War Savings Cttee. (accts., returns) to National Savings Cttee.

(c) Outlying :—

At local offices : War Pensions Cttee., 1916→ (minutes, case papers, corresp., registers with Secretary; accts. with Finance Officer); S. & S.F.A., 1914→ (minutes, accts., original applications, case papers); Fed. of D. & D. S. & S.

St. Marylebone. M.B.C. Pop. 104,222.*(a) At Town Hall.* Open to inspection.

Belgian Refugees Cttee., 1914–15 (minutes, accts., corresp., lists of offers of hospitality, &c.).

Coal control, 1917–20 (accts., original returns, corresp., registers, &c., and see below).

Food Control, 1917–20 (accts., some files of reports, and see below).

Food Economy Cttee., 1917–19 (minutes, accts., corresp., reports).

Allotments Sub-Cttee., of Council, 1916→ (corresp., minutes of General Purposes Cttee. of Council).

Local Military Tribunal, 1916–18 (all docs.).

Recruiting Cttee., 1914 (corresp., minutes of Council), National Registration, 1915–19 (all docs.).

War Pensions Cttee., 1916–22 (at office of Cttee.).

S. & S.F.A., and S. & S.H.S. (at their office).

Local Relief Cttee., 1914–18 (original applications for relief, case papers, registers, particulars of relief).

War Savings Cttee. and Central Assoc. for Borough, 1916–22 (at office of Cttee.).

Provision of Coal to Needy Inhabitants, 1916–18 (minutes of Special Sub-Cttee. of Council).

Provision of Air-raid Shelters, 1917–18 (corresp., minutes of Works Cttee. of Council).

Storage of Furniture of men serving, 1916–21 (corresp., minutes of General Purposes Cttee. of Council).

Lord Kitchener's Appeal for Blankets.

(b) *Forwarded to Head-quarters :—*

Coal Control, 1917–20 (statistics of consumption), to Coal Mines Dept., Bd. of Trade.
Food Control, 1917–20 (some docs.), to Ministry of Food.

(c) *Outlying :—*

Head-quarters of St. Dunstan's; the Church Army; the Navy League; B.R.C.; Y.M.C.A.; Regent Street Polytechnic War Activities, see *sub titulo*.
British Legion (including Fed. of D. & D. S. & S.) at local Branch.
Guards P. of W. Fund (docs. with C.O. Grenadier Guards).
Women's Land Service Corps (docs. with Women's Farm and Garden Union).
Queen Alexandra Hospital (docs. with Dr. H. J. Paterson, 9 Upper Wimpole Street).
Sutherland Naval Hospital (docs. with Duchess of Sutherland, 61 Queen Street).
Hospital Auxiliary to 2nd London General Hospital (docs. with Dr. H. T. Herring, 50 Harley Street).
Hospital for Officers (docs. with Miss Birkett, Elstead, Surrey).
Hall-Walker Hospital (docs. with Lord Wavertree, Sussex Lodge, Regent's Park).
Maternity Homes for Officers' Wives (docs. with Lady Howard de Walden, 37 Belgrave Square, W.).
Electrical Treatment for Soldiers and Sailors (docs. with Dowsing Radiant Heat Co., 93 Baker Street).
Records of Special War work for treatment of service men at Middlesex Hospital, Royal National Orthopaedic Hospital; West End Hospital for Nervous Diseases, National Hospital for Diseases of the Heart; Hospital for Epilepsy and Paralysis; Hospital of St. John and St. Elizabeth.

Southwark. M.B.C. Pop. 184,388.

(a) *At Town Hall :—*

Coal Control (with Borough Engineer).
Local Military Tribunal (original applications for exemption, registers of and decisions on applications with Town Clerk).
National Registration (some docs.);
Local Relief Cttee. (some docs.);

War Savings Cttee. (some docs.) with Town Clerk.

Emergency Measures of Council *re* State of Employment, Education, Public Health, and Housing, see minutes of respective Cttees. of Council.

(b) *Outlying :—*

War Pensions Cttee. at local office.

Wandsworth. M.B.C. Pop. 328,657.

(a) *At Council House :—*

Allotment Cttee., 1917–22 (minutes, and other docs.).
Local Military Tribunal, 1914–18 (all docs.); Recruiting Cttee., 1914–18 (all docs.); National Relief Fund, 1914–19 (all docs.); War Savings Cttee., 1916–22 (all docs.); P. of W. Fund; 13th East Surrey Comforts and Depot Funds.
Assoc. of Voluntary Workers; War Commemoration Fund.

(b) *Forwarded to Head-quarters :—*

Coal Control (some docs.).
Food Control and Food Economy Cttee. (all docs.).

(c) *Outlying :—*

Special Constabulary (V and W Divisions).
At respective local offices: War Pensions Cttee., 1914–22; Hospital (Tooting) and Training Centre (Roehampton) for Disabled Service Men; British Legion (six branches, including Fed. of D. & D. S. & S.); Juvenile Organizations Cttee.
With respective local secretaries: Putney and Roehampton Belgian War Refugees Fund, 1914–19 (minutes, accts., corresp., reports); Wandsworth Belgian Refugees Cttee., 1914–19; Northfield House Educational Fund for Belgian Children, 1914–, and Tobacco Fund for Wounded Soldiers, 1914–19 (all docs. with Mr. G. F. Berney, Solicitor); Balham Belgian Refugees Cttee.; S. & S.F.A. and S. & S.H.S. (Wandsworth, Clapham, and Balham branches); War Supply Depots (Wandsworth, Clapham, and Streatham branches); Wandsworth Women War Workers; Women's Emergency Aid Depot for War Refugees' Clothes.
Files of local newspapers (5) at their respective offices.

Westminster. City C. Pop. 141,317.*(a) At City Hall :—*

- Coal Control (report of proceedings).
- Local Military Tribunal (registers of applications for exemption, papers relating to same).
- National Registration (enumerators' books, statistics, final report).
- Profiteering Cttee. (minutes, final report).

MIDDLESEX. C.C.*(a) At Guildhall, Westminster :—*

- Local Tribunal Appeal Cttee. ; War Distress Cttee. ; Appeal Cttee. for Profiteering.

(b) At C.C. Offices, 38 Eccleston Square :—

- Minutes and papers of Agricultural Exec. Cttee.

(c) Outlying :—

- War Pensions Cttee., 1916→ (minutes, corresp., files of papers, applications for supplementary allowances).
- War Savings Cttee. (all docs.) with National Savings Cttee.

Acton. U.D.C. Pop. 61,314.*(a) At Council Offices :—*

- Coal Control; Local Military Tribunal, 1915-18 (applications for exemption, registers of applications).

War Relief Cttee., 1914-19 (register of local unemployed, applications for employment, &c.).

1. National Relief Fund (minutes, accts., collecting cards, case papers, registers of cases, docs. *re* appeals and collections).
2. Relief Sub-Cttee. including Maternity Centre (register of cases, particulars of relief, &c.).
3. General Purposes Sub-Cttee. (docs. *re* conditions of trade, industry, employment, prices, and public health, &c.; schemes for dealing with distress, including returns from firms and statistics *re* employment; registers of volunteers for special constabulary and nursing, 1914; information *re* enemy firms).
4. Belgian Refugees Cttee., 1914-19 (minutes, accts., collecting cards, register of refugees, lists of offers

of hospitality and coal offers, embarkment returns).

5. Administration of S. & S.F.A. (minutes), and see below.

6. Allotments Sub-Cttee., later appointed by Council to administer War Relief Allotments (some docs.).
Ladies' War Relief Assoc., 1914-19 (statement of receipts and expenditure), and see below.

(b) Forwarded to Head-quarters :—

Food Control to Ministry of Food.

(c) Outlying :—

War Pensions Cttee. (case papers) at local offices.

War Savings Cttee., 1917-20 (minutes), at National Provincial Bank.
Ladies' War Relief Cttee., 1914-19 (acct. bk.), with local secretary, and see above.

S. & S.F.A., 1914-20 (books, corresp., in custody of secretary), co-opted to form War Relief Cttee., see above.

Feltham. U.D.C. Pop. 5,700.*(a) At Council Offices :—*

Coal Control, 1919-20 (minutes, original returns, papers).

Belgian Relief Cttee., 1916-20 (minutes, papers).

Local Relief Cttee., 1916-20 (minutes, case papers).

(b) Forwarded to Head-quarters :—

Food Control to Hounslow.

(c) Outlying :—

Local Military Tribunal, 1916-18 (minutes, applications for exemption, registers of cases), with former clerk at present, but may be transferred to custody of Clerk to Council.

Finchley. U.D.C. Pop. 50,000.*(a) At Council Offices :—*

Belgian Refugees Cttee. (some docs.).

Local Military Tribunal (some applications for exemption, registers of applications).

Local Relief Cttee. (all docs); War Activities of Council, 1914→ (see Council minutes); Citizen's Cttee. (all docs.).

(b) Forwarded to Head-quarters :—

Food Control and Food Economy Cttee. to Ministry of Food.

(c) *Outlying* :—

Coal Control with late Coal Overseer.
War Pensions Cttee. at local offices.
War Savings Cttee. and Assocs. with
local secretaries.

Friern Barnet. U.D.C. Pop. 15,700.(a) *At Council Offices* :—

Coal Control, 1918–20; Allotment
Society, 1914–18; Local Military
Tribunal, 1916–18; National Re-
gistration, 1915–19; Local Relief
Cttee., 1914–18; War Savings
Cttee. and Assocs., 1916–; Public
Health and Housing Cttees. of
Council, 1914–.

(b) *Forwarded to Head-quarters* :—

Food Control and Food Economy
Cttee., 1917–21, to Ministry of
Food.

(c) *Outlying* :—

War Pensions Cttee. and S. & S.F.A.
at Local Pensions Office.
Belgian Refugees Cttee., 1914–18,
with former secretary.
Special Constables with local police
authority.

Harrow on the Hill. U.D.C. Pop.
19,000.(a) *At Council Offices* :—

Coal Control, 1918– (Orders of Con-
troller, original returns).
Local Military Tribunal (minutes,
original applications for exemp-
tions).
National Registration (enumerators'
books, original returns).
Harrow War Help Movement (min-
utes, accts.).

(b) *Forwarded to Head-quarters* :—

Food Control to Ministry of Food.

Hendon. U.D.C. Pop. 56,014.*At Town Hall* :—

Records of Coal Control; Belgian
Refugees Cttee.; Local Relief
Cttee.; Local Military Tribunal;
National Registration.

Heston and Hounslow. U.D.C. Pop.
43,000.(a) *At Council Offices* :—

Coal Control (statistics of consump-
tion of industries and house-
holders).
Local Relief Cttee. (minutes, applica-
tions for relief, particulars of grants

from Central Fund and of cases
relieved).

Local Military Tribunal (minutes,
applications for exemption and
decisions thereon).

(b) *Forwarded to Head-quarters* :—

Food Control to Ministry of Food.

(c) *Outlying* :—

Belgian Refugees Cttee. (lists) with
former secretary.

Southgate. U.D.C. Pop. 40,500.*At Town Hall, Palmer's Green* :—

All Council's War records will be
preserved.

South Mimms. R.D.C. Pop. 2,800.(a) *At Clerk's Office, Barnet* :—

Local Military Tribunal (minutes,
corresp., copies of applications for
exemption, and see below).

(b) *Forwarded to Head-quarters* :—

Food Control to Barnet; Local Tri-
bunal (original applications).

(c) *Outlying* :—

Coal Control with former Controller;
Belgian Refugees Cttee. with
former secretary.

Staines. U.D.C. Pop. 7,161.*At Council Offices.* Probably open to
inspection.

Records of Belgian Refugees Fund;
Food Control Cttees. and Volun-
tary Food Control; Local Military
Tribunal; National Registration
and Voluntary Service Schemes;
War Relief Fund; War Pensions
Cttee., 1916–21.

Sunbury on Thames. U.D.C. Pop.
5,100.(a) *At Council Offices* :—

Coal Control, 1916–19 (accts., some
original returns, statistics of con-
sumption, registers, corresp., &c.,
with Surveyor).

Food Control, 1917–20 (some docs.
with Surveyor, see below).

Food Economy Cttee., 1916–17 (all
docs. with Surveyor).

Local Military Tribunal, 1916–19
(original applications for exemp-
tion, registers, papers *re* decisions
with Clerk).

Recruiting Cttee., 1914–16 (minutes,
lists, corresp., with Surveyor).

Local Relief Cttee., 1914-20 (all docs. with Surveyor).

War Savings Cttee., 1916-21 (all docs. with Surveyor).

(b) *Forwarded to Head-quarters* :—

Food Control Cttee., 1917-20 (most of docs.) to Teddington Office.

(c) *Outlying* :—

At respective local offices: Allotment Holders' Assoc., 1916-21; War Pensions Cttee., 1916-21; Fed. of D. & D. S. & S.

With respective local secretaries: Belgian Refugees Cttee., 1914-17; S. & S.F.A., 1914-18; War Savings Assocs., 1916-19.

Tottenham. B.C. Pop. 146,695.

(a) *At Town Hall* :—

Local Military Tribunal, 1916-18 (minutes, original applications, registers, corresp.). These records, form a special collection.

National Relief Fund, 1914-19 (card indexes *re* cases, &c.).

(b) *Forwarded to Head-quarters* :—

Food Control, 1917-20 (minutes, ledgers, registers, &c.), to Ministry of Food, and see below.

(c) *Outlying* :—

Food Control (typed report, complete copies of forms and orders) with late food officer.

Uxbridge. R.D.C. Pop. 10,140.

(a) *At Clerk's Office* :—

Food Control (minutes, accts., and see below).

Local Military Tribunal (minutes, original applications for exemption, registers, corresp.).

(b) *Forwarded to Head-quarters* :—

Food Control (some docs.) to District Officer.

Wembley. U.D.C. Pop. 15,600.

(a) *At Council Offices* :—

Coal Control (some docs.); Local Military Tribunal (some docs.); Recruiting Cttee. (some docs.); Food Produce Cttee. (some docs.).

(b) *Forwarded to Head-quarters* :—

Food Control to Harrow, *q.v.*

(c) *Outlying* :—

War Pensions Cttee. (docs.) at local offices.

Belgian Refugees Cttee., 1914-19 (minutes, accts.); Local Relief Cttee., 1914-16 (minutes, accts.); with some records of War Savings and War Pensions in possession of T. A. Wallace, Esq., 38 St. John's Street, Wembley.

War Savings Assocs. (some docs. with former secretary).

St. John Ambulance Brigade (docs. with local officer).

Willesden. U.D.C. Pop. 165,669.

(a) *At Town Hall* :—

Coal Control (original returns, card indexes, statistics of consumption, registers, lists, corresp.).

War Allotments (all docs.); Local Military Tribunal (all docs.).

War Pensions Cttee. (at present all docs.); Local Relief Cttee. (all docs.).

Housing Scheme, post-war (all docs.).

School for Belgian Refugee Children (all docs. in Education Dept.).

Hospital and Training Centre for Disabled (docs. in Education Dept.).

Minutes of Council available.

(b) *At Public Libraries* (4) :—

Files of local newspapers.

(c) *Forwarded to Head-quarters* :—

Food Control.

(d) *Outlying* :—

With respective local secretaries: Belgian Refugees Cttee.; S. & S.F.A.; S. & S.H.S.; War Savings Cttee. and Assocs.; P. of W. Fund.

NORFOLK.

Norwich. City C. Pop. 120,653.

(a) *At Guildhall.* Open to inspection by arrangement.

Food Control, 1918-20 (minutes, accts., corresp., applications for fuel and lighting allowances, record of emergency coal contracts).

Local Military Tribunal, 1915-18 (all docs. at present with Town Clerk).

National Registration, 1915-19 (original returns, corresp., enumerators' registers, &c., with Town Clerk).

S. & S.F.A., 1914-16 (minutes, accts., corresp., records of registration with Town Clerk).

Local Relief Cttee., 1914-21 (all docs. with Town Clerk).

Distress Cttee., including workroom for women, 1914-15 (minutes, registers, accts., case papers).

Civilian Emergency Corps under Cttee. of Citizens, including schemes for disablement of motor vehicles and removal of petrol, disposal of vehicles and vessels, provision of labour, tools, &c., removal of casualties, housing, and feeding refugees, 1914-17 (minutes, official instructions, &c.).

Special Constables, 1914→ (particulars of service), and Emergency Police Duties.

Housing Schemes for 4 Estates, 1914-18 (all docs.).

(b) *At Education Cttee. Office :—*

National War Savings Food Economy Cttee., 1917-19 (all docs.).

National Kitchen Cttee., 1917-19 (all docs.); Recruiting Cttee., 1915-18 (reports, circulars); War Savings Cttee., 1919 (all docs., and see below).

War Savings Assocs., 1916-19 (corresp., registers, lists, and see below).

(c) *At Public Library :—*

War Savings Cttee., 1916→ (lists of assocs. and of original Cttee.).

Local Voluntary War Work Assocs., Norfolk and Norwich, 1915-19 (requisitions books, printed report, some letters of thanks, papers *re* raising of funds, affiliated working parties, history of branch, methods of working).

War Hospital Supply Depot, 1915-19 (report).

Local B.R.C., 1914-19 (printed reports and file of printed orders), and see below.

Domestic Servants Hospital Bed for the Wounded (minutes, cash books).

Clubs for Soldiers and Sailors' Wives and Mothers (list of subscriptions).

Christmas Fund for Norfolk Regt., 1917 (docs.).

War Time Club, 1915-19 (printed reports).

Files of local newspapers (3); collections of cuttings and photographs of local war activities.

(d) *Forwarded to Head-quarters :—*

Food Control, 1917-20 (all docs.), to Food Dept., Bd. of Trade.

War Savings Assoc., 1916-19 (accts.).

(e) *Outlying :—*

Local B.R.C. (minutes, &c.) with County Director.

At respective local offices : War Pensions Cttee., 1916→; Y.M.C.A.; Y.W.C.A.; British Legion (including Fed. of D. & D. S. & S.).

With respective local secretaries : County Agricultural Cttee. (minutes); Norwich Food Production League, 1917→ (minutes, accts., corresp., &c.); War Savings Cttee., 1916-19 (all docs.); P. of W. Fund; Norfolk and Norwich Hospital; Women's Land Army.

Local Histories : *Peace Souvenir*, *Norwich War Records*, 1919, edited by Herbert Leeds.

Boulton & Paul, Ltd., and the Great War, by W. H. Fiske.

Great Yarmouth. B.C. Pop. 60,710.

(a) *At Town Hall. Open to inspection.*

Coal Control (original returns, statistics of consumption, registers, lists, corresp., with Town Clerk, and see below).

S. & S.H.S. (docs. with Town Clerk).
Safety of Children (docs. at Education Offices).

(b) *At Police Station :—*

War Emergency Measures (minutes and other docs.).

Police and Special Constables.

(c) *At Public Library :—*

Relief of Belgian Children, 1913 (all docs.).

Food and Coal Controls (circulars, some corresp., some accts., &c.).

Local Military Tribunal (some docs.).

Recruiting Cttee. (posters, circulars, &c.); National Registration (some docs.).

War Pensions Cttee. (Royal Warrant, Cttee. papers, registers of Disablement Sub-Cttee., see below); Local Relief Cttee. (all docs.).

Emergency Cttee., East Coast Conference (docs., *re* Removal of Wounded Soldiers).

Local B.R.C. (minutes, and all other docs.), B.R.C., and V.A.D. Hospitals (minutes, order books, collection of pamphlets, photographs, &c.).

National Relief Fund, Canadian Fund (minutes, Cttee. proceedings, forms).

War Supply Depot and Comforts for Soldiers (all docs.).

Y.M.C.A. (Cttee. minutes, annual reports).

Hospital for Disabled (some docs.).
Sand-bag making by P. & R.W. Cttee. (all docs.).

Voluntary War Workers' Assoc. Cttee. (docs.).

Local Memorial containing particulars of service men.

Proclamations, 1914; Circulars re Air-craft Insurance.

Files of local newspapers; Collection of pamphlets.

(d) *Forwarded to Head-quarters* :—

Food Control (original returns, corresp., registers, lists), Food Economy Cttee. (reports, registers, &c.) to Div. Officer, Cambridge, and see below.

(e) *Outlying* :—

Coal Control (minutes, accts.); Food Control (minutes, accts.); Food Economy Cttee. (minutes, accts., corresp.); Allotment Assoc. (minutes, accts., corresp., statistics); Recruiting Cttee. (minutes, original returns, corresp., reports); with Mr. W. J. Oldman at Greyfriars Chambers, 8 Queen Street, Great Yarmouth.

At respective local offices: War Pensions Cttee. (except as above); British Legion (including Unity Relief Fund).

With respective local secretaries: S. & S.F.A.; Home for Motherless Children.

P. of W. Fund (docs. at *Mercury* Office).

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE. C.C.

(a) *At County Hall*. Open to inspection.

Belgian Refugees Cttee., 1914-19 (docs. with Clerk of C.C.).

Agricultural Exec. Cttee. (minutes in Small Holdings Dept., accts. with County Accountant).

Horticultural Section of above, 1918 → (minutes, corresp., printed report of County Education Conference, 1919, in County Offices).

Food Economy Cttee. (docs. in County Education Offices).

Appeal Tribunals, 1916-18 (docs. with Clerk of C.C.).

War Emergency Measures, State of Employment, Education, Public

Health, Housing (docs. filed with minutes of Council meetings and reports of Cttees. with Clerk of C.C.).

(b) *Outlying* :—

Recruiting Cttees., with Parliamentary Agents of County (4).

Records of action to enforce D.O.R. Regulations with Chief Constable, County Constabulary, Northampton.

P. of W. Fund (docs. with Editor, *Northampton Independent*).

At respective local offices: County War Pensions Cttee., Northampton; B.R.C. and Order of St. John.

With respective local secretaries: S. & S.F.A., 1914-18 (minutes, accts., will be preserved); S. & S.H.S.; War Savings Cttee. and Assocs.; Women's Land Army.

(c) *With local Authorities*. U.D.C. and R.D.C.

Coal Control; Food Control; Local Military Tribunals; National Registration; Local Relief Cttees.

(d) *Local History* :—

War Activities of Town and County and War History of County Regts. to be published shortly by Editor of *Northampton Independent*.

Northampton. B.C. Pop. 90,923.

(a) *At Guildhall* :—

Belgian Refugees Cttee., 1914-18 (docs. with Town Clerk).

Coal Control, 1918-20 (minutes, copies of returns by merchants and dealers, special assessments log-book, lists of merchants' applications for registration, and dealers' applications for licences, statistics of consumption, corresp. with Boro' Engineer, accts. with Boro' Accountant).

Local Military Tribunal, 1915-18 (docs. with Town Clerk).

National Registration, 1914-18 (docs. with Town Clerk).

Distress Cttee., 1914 (minutes, accts., applications for relief, case papers, register).

War Savings Cttee. (docs. with Town Clerk).

Equipment and Administration of thirty-two V.A.D. Auxiliary Military Hospitals, 1914-18 (records).

Order of St. John and local B.R.C. and V.A.D., 1914 → (some docs.).

Public Health, 1914-18, including inspection of food, inspection of soldiers' billets and camps, disinfection of army appliances (reports, &c.).

Register of local War Charities.

(b) *At Public Library* :—

Food Control, 1917-20 (minutes, accts., lists, posters, &c., and see below).

Some docs. and pamphlets concerning B.R.C. Sales, P. of W. and other Funds, War Charities, Food Economy, War Savings, Recruiting, and National Service.

Collection of Proclamations and D.O.R. Regulations.

Files of local newspapers.

(c) *Forwarded to Head-quarters* :—

Food Control, 1917-20 (registers, particulars, &c.).

(d) *Outlying* :—

At local War Pensions Office: War Pensions Cttee., 1916→; S. & S.F.A., 1914-16 (applications for allowances, case papers, registers, corresp., and see below); S. & S.H.S., 1914-20 (case papers, card indexes, and see below).

With Editor of *Independent*: P. of W. Fund; Files of local newspapers; War Diaries.

At Ambulance Head-quarters: Local B.R.C., Order of St. John; War Supply Depots; Comforts for Soldiers.

At respective local offices: Y.M.C.A.; Y.W.C.A.; British Legion.

With respective local secretaries: S. & S.F.A., 1914-16 (minutes, accts.); S. & S.H.S., 1914-20 (accts. with County Secretary); Local Allied War Fund, 1916-22.

Local War Histories: *Northamptonshire and the Great War* (2 vols.).

Three War Histories of local battalions (including raising of 7th Battalion, Northants. Regt.).

Publication of War Activities of local firms at local Chamber of Commerce.

NORTHUMBERLAND.

Newcastle - upon - Tyne. City C. Pop. 274,955.

(a) *Town Hall* :—

Coal Control (minutes, reports with Cttee. Clerk, accts. with City

Treasurer); Allotment Cttee. (all docs.).

Local Military Tribunal (all docs. with Town Clerk).

National Registration (all docs. with Town Clerk).

Recruiting Cttees. (some docs. with Cttee. Clerk, and see below).

Mayor's Relief Fund (docs. with Cttee. Clerk).

National Relief Fund (docs. with Town Clerk).

War Emergency Cttee. of Council (all docs.).

(b) *At Public Library* :—

Reports of Local War Pensions Cttee., 1915-17; Northern Counties Joint Disablement Cttee., 1917-19; Deputation visiting medical institutions, 1917.

(c) *Forwarded to Head-quarters* :—

Belgian Refugees Cttee. to Belgian Foreign Office.

Food Control to Bd. of Trade, Food Dept.

(d) *Outlying* :—

War Pensions Cttee., 1916→, including Cases, Disablement, Training, Exec., Hostel, Children's Care Sub-Cttees. (minutes, papers, printed report, 1922).

With local secretaries: S. & S.F.A. (including work of local B.R.C. and local firms).

NOTTS.

Nottingham. City C. Pop. 262,658.

(a) *At Guildhall, &c.* Applications for inspection to Town Clerk considered.

Belgian Refugees Cttee., 1914-19 (all docs. with Town Clerk).

Coal Control, 1918-20 (minutes with Town Clerk; accts., original returns, statistics of consumption, register, corresp. with acting City Engineer).

Coal Conservation Cttee., 1917-19 (minutes, corresp. with Town Clerk).

Food Control, 1917-20 (minutes with Town Clerk, accts. with City Treasurer, and see below).

National Kitchen Cttee. (minutes, reports, &c., in 'Miscellaneous' Minute Books with Town Clerk; accts. with City Treasurer).

Mayor's Food Cttee. (minutes, cor-

- resp., reports with Town Clerk ; accts. with City Engineer).
- Land Cultivation Cttee., 1917-23 (minutes, corresp., reports, returns, registers, plans of allotments, original agreement with plot-holders and Assocs. with Town Clerk ; accts. with City Treasurer).
- Local Military Tribunal, 1915-18 (all docs. with Town Clerk).
- National Service Cttee., 1917 (Records in 'Miscellaneous' Minutes Book).
- Recruiting Cttee., 1914-16 (corresp., &c., with Town Clerk).
- Local Relief Cttee., 1914-19 (minutes with Town Clerk, accts. with City Treasurer, and see below).
- War Savings Cttee., 1916 (minutes and records with Secretary at City Treasurer's Office).
- War Savings Assoc., 1917-21 (minutes, accts., corresp., reports with acting City Engineer).
- Emergency Cttee. of Council, 1914-18 (minutes, instructions, with Town Clerk).
- Lighting Regulations, 1914-18 (police reports, information against offenders, with Town Clerk).
- Emergency Relief Work of Council, 1914-18 (minutes with Town Clerk).
- Special Constables, 1914-18 (Record Book of enrolments and training with Chief Constable).
- Housing Scheme (minutes, reports, corresp., with Town Clerk).
- War Charities, 1916-18 (register, file, with Town Clerk).
- Comforts for Troops Fund (docs. with Deputy Town Clerk).
- Notts. Patriotic Fair for War Charities (corresp. with Town Clerk).
- Home for Paralysed Soldiers (corresp. with Town Clerk).
- Lord Roberts Memorial Workshops, East Midlands Branch (corresp. with Town Clerk).
- Cammel Laird's National Ordnance Factory (corresp., files, &c., with Town Clerk).
- (b) *In Public Library* :—
- Copies of Local War Histories (10), chiefly *re* local Regts., including War Diaries.
- Boots' *Comrades in Khaki*, 1915 ;
- Files of Local Newspapers (2).

(c) *Forwarded to Head-quarters* :—

Food Control, 1917-20 (original returns, corresp., lists, registers, &c.), to Food Section of Bd. of Trade.

(d) *Outlying* :—

War Pensions Cttee., 1916→ (all docs.) ; Local Relief Cttee., 1914-19 (original applications for relief, case papers, registers, particulars of relief, corresp., reports, returns), at Local War Pensions Cttee.

At respective local offices : Y.M.C.A. ; Comrades of the Great War ; Fed. of D. & D. S. & S. ; Dakeyne Street Lads' Club.

With respective local secretaries : S. & S.F.A. ; S. & S.H.S. ; St. John Ambulance Brigade ; local B.R.C. ; Dennis Bayley Fund ; War Supply Depot ; B.R.C. and Soldiers' Clothing Depot ; Nottingham and Notts. Assoc. of Voluntary Workers.

OXFORDSHIRE. No returns.

RUTLAND. No returns.

SHROPSHIRE. C.C.

(a) *With Clerk of County Council, Shrewsbury.* Open to inspection on application.

Information *re* Belgian Refugees Cttees.

Agricultural Exec. Cttee. (all docs.) ; Appeal Tribunal (all docs. at present).

Recruiting Cttee. (minutes, corresp., reports, &c.).

War Assistance Cttee. (minutes, corresp., accts., case papers, registers, particulars of relief, reports, returns).

National Relief Fund (all docs.).

War Emergency Measures of Council : Education, Police and Special Constables, Public Health, Housing, &c., among usual Records of Council.

List of Shropshire men killed in War (temporarily placed in the Free Library, Shrewsbury).

(b) *With Clerk to Borough, Urban, and Rural District Councils* :—

Coal Control ; Local Military Tribunals ; National Registration.

(c) *Forwarded to Head-quarters* :—

Food Control to Div. Food Commissioner, Birmingham, *q.v.*

Women's War Agricultural Cttee. to Min. of Agriculture.

(d) *Outlying* :—

War Pensions Cttee., Hospital Training Centres for Disabled Service Men, at Local Pensions Office, Shrewsbury.

Shropshire Council of British Legion (including Fed. of D. & D. S. & S.) at United Services Club, Shrewsbury.

War Savings Cttee. (docs. with Assistant to Organizer for Herefordshire, Shropshire, and Worcestershire).

Local B.R.C., V.A.D., and St. John Ambulance with County Director, Shrewsbury.

P. of W. Fund at Territorial Offices, Shrewsbury.

Shropshire Orthopaedic Hospital, Oswestry, for Disabled Men.

Oswestry Boys' Club (docs.) at Police Head-quarters, Oswestry.

County S. & S.H.S. with local secretary, Overley.

At local offices : Shropshire Produce Co-operative Society, Shrewsbury ; S. & S.F.A., Shrewsbury ; Y.M.C.A., Shrewsbury and Wellington.

Files of local newspapers (6) at their respective offices (at Shrewsbury, Oswestry, Wellington, Bridgnorth, Ludlow, and Whitchurch).

Oswestry. B.C. Pop. 9,700.

(a) *At Guildhall* :—

Food Control (all docs.) ; National Registration ; Local Military Tribunal ; S. & S.F.A. (all docs.).

(b) *Forwarded to Head-quarters* :—

Food Control (all docs.).

(c) *Outlying* :—

With respective local secretaries : War Pensions Cttee. ; War Savings Cttee.

SOMERSET. C.C.

(a) *At County Council Offices, Weston-super-Mare* :—

Belgian Refugees Cttees. for Weston-super-Mare and country districts. 1914-18 (minutes, registers of refugees, corresp., reports).

Agricultural Exec. Cttee., 1914-18 ; Local Military Tribunal, 1916-18 ; Local Relief Cttee., 1914-18 ;

Minutes of Council, 1914-18 (necessary modifications of county work).

(b) *At Shire Hall, Taunton* :—

Essays and other papers giving accounts of local efforts during the War.

(c) *Outlying* :—

Somerset War Pensions Cttee. at local offices, Taunton.

Somerset S. & S.F.A. ; Somerset Voluntary Help Assoc. (comforts to units), with respective local secretaries.

STAFFORDSHIRE.

Audley. U.D.C. Pop. 14,000.

(a) *At Clerk's Office* :—

National Registration, 1915-19 (card indexes, corresp., &c.).

(b) *Forwarded to Head-quarters* :—

Food Control to Ministry of Food.

(c) *Outlying* :—

At local offices : Fed. of D. & D. S. & S.

With respective local secretaries : Belgian Refugees Cttee. ; Local Military Tribunal, 1915-19.

Burton-upon-Trent. B.C. Pop. 48,927.

At Town Hall :—

Records of most of the local war work are preserved.

Smethwick. C.B.C. Pop. 75,757.

(a) *At Council House.* Open to inspection.

Belgian Refugees Cttee., 1914-17 (minutes, accts., corresp.).

Coal Control, 1918-20 (all docs.) ; Food Control, 1917-20 (all docs.).

Local Military Tribunal, 1915-18 (all docs.) ; Local Relief Cttee.

Prince of Wales's Fund, 1914-21.

Mayor's Fund, 1915 → (minutes, accts., case papers, registers, corresp., particulars of cases relieved).

War Savings Cttee., 1916 → (accts., corresp., reports).

Air Raid Regulations of Council, 1916-18.

(b) *At Public Library* :—

Collection of docs., pamphlets, &c., re Food Control, Coal Control, and War Pensions.

(c) *Forwarded to Head-quarters* :—

War Savings Assocs. to National Savings Cttee.

(d) Outlying :—

War Pensions Cttee., 1916 → ;
Y.M.C.A.; Fed. of D. & D. S.
& S. : at respective local offices.

With respective local secretaries :
B.R.C. Soc.; P. of W. Fund;
S. & S.H.S.; Recruiting Cttee.;
S. & S.F.A.

Files of local newspapers at their
offices.

Walsall. B.C. Pop. 96,964.

At Public Library :—

War Pensions Cttee. (Register of
Claims for Separation Allowances
and two reports); Local Tribunal
(report); Food Control (report).

Programme of Peace Celebrations (in-
cluding reports of local war work,
After-care Cttee., Air Raids, Roll of
Honour, &c.); Programme of un-
veiling of Local War Memorials.

Wolverhampton. B.C. Pop. 102,373.

(a) At Town Hall :—

Coal Control, 1918–20; Allotments
Soc., 1916 → ; Local Military Tri-
bunal, 1915–18 (some docs.); Re-
cruiting Cttee., 1915–17 (minutes,
corresp., reports); National Regis-
tration, 1915–19 (some docs.).

Local Relief Cttee., 1915 → (minutes,
and see below).

Temporary Police and Special Con-
stables, 1914–18 (card index, regis-
ter).

Housing Scheme (docs. of Housing
Cttee. of B.C.).

(b) Forwarded to Head-quarters :—

Food Control, 1917–20, to Office of
Works.

(c) Outlying :—

At respective local offices: War
Pensions Cttee. (including S. &
S.F.A., S. & S.H.S.); Y.M.C.A.;
Y.W.C.A.; Comrades of the Great
War.

With respective local secretaries :
Belgian Refugees Cttee., 1915 →
(accts., original applications for
and particulars of relief, registers,
corresp., reports, &c., with various
Ward Secretaries); War Savings
Cttee., 1916 →, and Assocs.; vari-
ous War Charities for Supplying
Comforts to Troops.

At *Express and Star* Office: Files
of local newspaper (and at Public

Library); Records of P. of W.
Fund, Tobacco Fund for Troops,
Fund for musical instruments for
Y.M.C.A. Huts, *Express and Star*
Hut at the Front, Range Finder
Fund, Motor Ambulance Fund,
National Relief Fund, Recruiting
of and Band for 2nd South Staffs.
Reserve, &c., Help to War Savings
Scheme, Cadets, B.R.C., War Hos-
pitals, &c.

SUFFOLK. East. C.C.

(a) At County Hall, Ipswich :—

Local War Pensions Cttee. (minutes,
reports, &c.).

Agricultural Cttee. (minutes, reports,
&c.); Education Cttee. (minutes,
reports, &c.); Roads and Bridges
Cttee. (minutes, reports, &c.).

Public Health, Housing, Local Govt.,
&c. (minutes, reports of General
Purposes Cttee.).

Beccles. B.C. Pop. 7,077.

*(a) At Town Clerk's Office. Open to
inspection.*

Coal Control, 1918–20 (all docs.);
Local Military Tribunal, 1916–18
(all docs.); National Registration,
1915–17 (all docs.); East Suffolk
War Relief Fund, 1915–18.

(b) Forwarded to Head-quarters :—

Food Control, 1917–19, to Lowestoft,
q.v.

(c) Outlying :—

With respective local secretaries :
S. & S.F.A.; S. & S.H.S.; War
Savings Cttee. and Assocs.; War
Supply Depot and Comforts for
Soldiers Cttee.; Fed. of D. &
D. S. & S.

Lowestoft. B.C. Pop. 44,326.

(a) At Town Hall. Open to inspection.

Coal Control, 1918–20 (original re-
turns, statistics of consumption,
corresp. with Boro' Surveyor;
remaining docs. with Town Clerk).

Food Control, 1917–20 (all docs.
except original returns, see below).

Food Economy Cttee., 1917–20
(minutes, accts., corresp., reports).

Local Military Tribunal, 1916–18 (all
docs.).

National Registration, 1915–20 (all
docs.).

National Relief Fund, 1914–22 (all

docs., including papers *re* training of unemployed women); War Pensions Cttee., 1916-22.

Emergency Cttee. of Council, 1914-19 (minutes, inventories of transport, lists of sick, aged, and infirm, instructions to police and to population for measures in case of invasion, bombardment, and air-raids).

Education—technical and vocational training of young soldiers unemployed, munition workers, &c., 1918-20 (outlines of organization, syllabuses).

Police—lists of property damaged and casualties during air-raids and bombardment, 1914-18).

Housing Scheme (minute books, plans, &c.).

- (b) *Forwarded to Head-quarters* :—
Food Control (original returns) to Cambridge.
Recruiting Sub-Cttee. to Ipswich.

- (c) *Outlying* :—
Belgian Refugees Funds (accts., &c.) at local Consulat Belge.
At respective local offices: Allotments Assoc., British Legion (including Fed. of D. & D. S. & S.).
With respective local secretaries: S. & S.F.A.; S. & S.H.S.; War Savings Cttee.; War Supply Depot.
Files of local newspapers at office of same.

Southwold. B.C. Pop. 3,376.

- (a) *At Town Hall* :—
Coal Control (docs. preserved); Local Military Tribunal (docs. preserved).
National Registration (docs. preserved); Canadian Relief Fund (docs. preserved).

- (b) *Forwarded to Head-quarters* :—
Food Control to Lowestoft; *q.v.*

- (c) *At Imperial War Museum Library* :—
Diary of the former Town Clerk, containing a minute account of his activities on many War Committees.

SURREY. County.

For a Calendar of local records (including War Records) of the County, see *Transactions and Pub-*

lications of the Surrey Archaeological Society and Surrey Record Society.

Carshalton. U.D.C. Pop. 11,000.

- (a) *At Council Offices.* Open to inspection.

Belgian Refugees Cttee., 1914-18; Coal Control, 1918-20; Local Military Tribunal, 1916-18; Recruiting Cttee.; National Registration, 1915→; Local Relief Cttee., 1914-18; War Savings Cttee. and Assoc., 1916→.

War Memorial and War Memorial Hospital Cttee., 1919→ (minutes, accts., register of Fallen, &c.).

Housing and Employment Schemes of Council.

Files of local newspapers.

- (b) *Forwarded to Head-quarters* :—
Food Control to Food Dept., Bd. of Trade.

- (c) *Outlying* :—
War Pensions Sub-Cttee., 1916→; Fed. of D. & D. S. & S.; Allotment Society, 1914-18: at respective local offices.
S. & S.F.A.; S. & S.H.S.; B.R.C. Soc.; War Supply Depot: with respective local secretaries.

Croydon. B.C. Pop. 190,877.

At Central Library :—

Special Constabulary (all docs. including observation during air-raids).

Printed records, reports, &c., of Council.

Reports of chief members of Local Relief and other War Cttee.

Reports of war activities of private hospitals.

Collection of local war photographs including air-raid damage.

Files of local newspapers; Roll of Honour.

Local War History: *Croydon and the Great War*, by Alderman H. Keatley Moore, J.P., and W. C. Berwick Sayers, F.L.A., 1920.

Dorking. U.D.C. Pop. 7,000.

Some Records of the following bodies in the custody of Mr. J. Beetham Wilson, 95 High Street, Dorking (former Chairman of the Council) :—

Emergency Cttee. of Council, 1914—

19; Belgian Refugees Cttee., 1914-19; Coal Control, 1918-20; Food Control Cttee., 1917-20; Food Economy Cttee., 1917-; Communal Kitchens, 1917-19; Food Production Soc., 1916-; Local Military Tribunal, 1916-18; Recruiting Cttee., 1914-15; War Pensions Cttee., 1916-; S. & S.F.A., 1914-; S. & S.H.S., 1914-; Local Relief Cttee.; Special Silver Church Collections, 1914-19; War Savings Cttee. and Assocs., 1916-; D.O.R. Cttee.; Surrey Guides (notes), 1914-19; Local B.R.C.; V.A.D. Hospitals; War Supply Depot, 1914-18; Hospital for Disabled; Organization of Recreation of Billeted Troops; Women's Organizations; London Refugees; War Aims Flag Day Cttee. and Collection; Spy Scares.

Local History in preparation: *History of Dorking during the War*, by J. Beetham Wilson.

Frimley. U.D.C. Pop. 13,000.

At Municipal Buildings, Camberley :—
All Council's War Records to be preserved.

Surbiton. U.D.C. Pop. 17,000.

(a) *At Council Offices.* Open to inspection by permission.

Local Military Tribunal (some docs.); Local Relief Cttee., 1914-22 (all docs.).

War Savings Cttee., 1916-22 (all docs.).

Housing Scheme, 1919-22 (docs. among usual records of Council).

(b) *Forwarded to Head-quarters* :—

Food Control to Ministry of Food.
National Registration, 1915-19, to Ministry of Health.

(c) *Outlying* :—

War Pensions Cttee. at local office.
With respective local secretaries :
Belgian Refugees Cttee., 1914-19 (minutes with Secretary, financial statement with Treasurer); S. & S.F.A.; S. & S.H.S.; War Supply Depot.

SUSSEX. East.

Eastbourne. B.C. Pop. 62,030.

At Central Public Library :—

Files of Minutes of Town Council;
Food Control Cttee. (some docs.);

War Pensions Cttee. (some docs.);
Files of local newspapers; Collection of posters, &c.

Hastings. C.B.C. Pop. 66,496.

(a) *At Town Hall.* Not open to inspection.

Coal Control, 1918-19; Food Control, 1917-19; Food Economy Cttee., 1917-19 (and see below); Local Military Tribunal, 1915-18.

National Registration, 1915-19 (some docs.).

Council's Relief Works, Public Health, Housing (Council's minutes, notices, &c.).

Registers of Special Constables;
Register of War Charities.

(b) *Outlying* :—

Allotments Assoc. (docs. with Hastings Horticultural Soc.).

At respective local offices: War Pensions Cttee.; War Savings Cttee. (including docs. of Food Economy Cttee. to 1917).

National Relief Fund with local secretary.

WARWICKSHIRE. C.C.

(a) *At County Council Offices, Leamington* :—

War Charities Cttee. (all docs.).

County War Relief Cttee. (all docs.).

(b) *Outlying* :—

Agricultural Exec. Cttee. (all docs.)
at Northgate Street, Warwick.

Birmingham. City and County C. Pop. 919,438.

(a) *At Town Hall and Council House.*
Mostly open to inspection.

Coal Control, 1918-20 (minutes, some original returns, statistics of consumption, registers, corresp., &c., with City Surveyor; accts. with City Treasurer).

Food Control, 1917-20 (accts. with City Treasurer, and see below).

Food Economy Cttee., 1918-20 (accts. with City Treasurer, corresp., reports, registers, &c., in Public Works Dept., and see below).

Local Military Tribunal (minutes, registers of applications with Town Clerk).

Local Relief Cttee., 1914-22 (accts. with City Treasurer, and see below).

War Savings Cttee. (accts. with City Treasurer).

Hutments for Soldiers at Sutton Coldfield, 1914-19 (plans, costs, corresp.).

War Charities Register with Town Clerk.

Billeting; Housing; Munition Workers; Food Supply; Prevention of Infectious Diseases; Hospital Treatment for Pensioners (docs. among records of Public Health Dept.).

(b) *At Reference Library :—*

Belgian Refugees Cttee., 1914-19 (minutes of Allocation and Unemployment Cttees., accts., registers, collection of newspaper cuttings), probably to be permanently retained.

'Big Guns Week', 1918 (minutes, lists, &c.).

'Women's Volunteer Reserve, Midland Batt.', 1915-17 (typewritten volume, circulars, &c.).

Local Military Tribunal, 1916 (typewritten instructions).

Rolls of Honour (14), some in manuscript.

Files of local newspapers and periodicals.

Publications of local institutions, &c., relating to the War, including :—
Citizens' Cttee. for Relief of Distress, 1914-16 (guide, reports, accts., memoranda, &c.).

Civic Recreation League, 1916→ (leaflets, &c.).

D.O.R. Regs., 1915→ (notices *re* Air-raids and Lighting, issued by Special Constables).

Food Control Cttee., 1917-20 (weekly bulletin, posters, circulars, &c.).

Hospital Comforts Cttee., 1918 (appeal, circular).

War Loans Campaigns, 1917-19 (posters, circulars, &c.).

War Supply Depot Fund, 1915-18 (circulars, booklet).

Navy League, 1915→ (reports).

B.R.C., 1915-18 (appeals, reports, typewritten notices).

St. John Ambulance, 1914-15 (reports, lectures, posters, circulars).

Serbian Boys' Hostel, 1917→ (circulars, &c.).

Local War Museum, 1917-19 (report, circulars).

War Refugees Cttee., 1914→ (reports, circulars).

Y.M.C.A., 1915-18 (posters, circulars, &c.).

(c) *Forwarded to Head-quarters :—*

Food Control, 1917-20 (all docs. except accts.).

Food Economy Cttee., 1918-20 (minutes).

Food Control (West Midland Division) to Ministry of Food.

(d) *Outlying :—*

Agricultural Exec. Cttee. (West Midland Division) docs. with Union Officer.

War Pensions Cttee., 1916-22; S. & S.F.A., 1914-22; S. & S.H.S., 1914-22; Hospitals for Disabled, 1914→ (docs. at Local War Pensions Office and partly with Birmingham Citizens' Society).

Local Relief Cttee., 1914-22 (all docs. except accts.).

Local Thrift Assoc., 1914-20 (all docs.).

Training Centres for Disabled, 1914-19, with Citizens' Society.

Local War Histories (all at Reference Library) include :—

Birmingham and the Great War, 1914-19, by R. H. Brazier and E. Sandforth, 1921.

Birmingham's Part in the Great War; a Pictorial Record, 1919.

Munitions of War: a Record of the Work of the B.S.A. and Daimler Cos., 1914-18, by G. H. Frost, 1921.

Bournville Works and the War . . . 1914-19, 1920.

Numerous Military Histories, Periodicals to Service Men.

Accounts of Personal War Experiences, &c.

Coventry. City C. Pop. 128,205.

(a) *At Council House :—*

Coal Control, 1918 (minutes, original returns, statistics of consumption, registers, corresp., &c., with Town Clerk; accts. with City Treasurer).

Food Control, 1917-20 (some corresp.), reports of Exec. Officer, 1920, and see below.

Records of War Emergency Measures of Council *re* State of Employment, Education, Public Health, and Housing (preserved in the Council's Minutes).

Special Constables (Registers, &c., with Watch Cttee.).

Printed Programme of Peace Celebrations, 1919 (containing short acct. of local war activities).

(b) *Forwarded to Head-quarters* :—

Food Control, 1917-20 (minutes, accts., registers, medical records, &c.), to Min. of Food.

War Savings Cttee., 1916 → (most of docs.), to National Savings Cttee. and see below.

S. & S.H.S. (accts.) to Central Office.

(c) *Outlying* :—

Local Military Tribunal, 1916-18 (minutes, registers of applications, letter books, accts., reports), with Clerk to Tribunal.

War Pensions Cttee., 1917 → ; S. & S.F.A., 1914-19 (original applications for allowances, case papers, registers, corresp.) ; S. & S.H.A. all docs. except as above) ; Mayor's Local Relief Fund (all docs.) ; Lord Roberts Memorial Fund (all docs.) at local Pensions Office.

Training Centre for Disabled (docs.) at Min. of Labour, Local Training Dept.

Y.M.C.A. (some docs.) at local branch.

With respective local secretaries : Belgian Refugees Cttee., 1914-19 (some docs.—minutes, accts., embarkation returns with Chairman, Belgian Advisory Cttee.) ; Allotment Soc. ; S. & S.F.A., 1914-19 (minutes, accts.), 1919 → (case papers, registers, corresp.) ; P. of W. Fund (balance sheet) ; Fed. of D. & D. S. & S. ; V.A.Ds. (4).

Museum of Munitions made in Coventry, 1914-18, at Technical Institute, Coventry.

Rugby. U.D.C. Pop. 21,700.

(a) *At Council Offices* :—

Minutes and other docs. of National Service Cttee.

Food Control ; Coal Control ; Local Tribunals ; National Relief Cttee. and Fund ; Belgian Relief Fund ; S. & S.F.A.

(b) *At public Library* :—

Food Economy Cttee. (minutes, stock-taking book, &c.).

Food Control (specimens of cards, &c.).

D.O.R. (press restrictions, corresp.).

Warwickshire War Savings & War Bonds Central Cttee. (posters, &c.).
Old Murrayians War Memorial Cttee. (minutes).

Bound Copies of local newspapers.

Collection of war posters and bills.

Photographs of local war incidents and of activities of British Thomson-Houston Co., Ltd., &c.

Stratford-upon-Avon. B.C. Pop. 9,391.

(a) *At Council Offices* :—

Coal Control (all docs.) ; Local Military Tribunal ; Files of Local Newspapers.

(b) *Forwarded to Head-quarters* :—

Food Control.

(c) *Outlying* :—

At local offices : War Pensions Cttee. With respective local secretaries : Belgian Refugees Cttee. ; War Savings Cttee. ; Organizations for Women's Work.

WESTMORELAND. No returns.

WILTSHIRE. No returns.

WORCESTERSHIRE. C.C.

With County Council :—

All War Records of Council to be preserved.

Dudley. B.C. Pop. 55,908.

(a) *At Town Hall.* Open to inspection.

Local Military Tribunal, 1915-18.
National Registration, 1915-18.

Emergency War Measures of Council, 1914-18.

Police and Special Constables, Housing, Education, and Employment Schemes of Council (minutes and copy corresp.).

(b) *Forwarded to Head-quarters* :—

Food Control Cttee., 1917-21 (except as below), to Min. of Food.

(c) *Outlying* :—

War Pensions Cttee., 1916 → ; Y.M.C.A. ; Fed. of D. & D. S. & S. : at respective local offices.

Food Control Cttee., 1917-21 (minutes, newspaper records).

Food Production Assoc., 1917 → (minutes, balance sheets), will be preserved.

Recruiting Cttee., 1914-18 ; S. & S.F.A. ; War Savings Cttee. ; Local Relief Cttee., 1914-18 (all

docs.), with respective local secretaries.
Files of local newspapers at local offices.

Worcester. City C. Pop. 48,848.

(a) *At Guildhall* :—

Local Military Tribunal (all docs.).

YORKSHIRE, EAST RIDING. C.C.

At County Hall, Beverley :—

Minutes and various papers of the following : County Council and its Cttees., 1914-19 ; War Agricultural Cttee., 1914-17 ; War Agricultural Exec. Cttee. (and Sub-Cttees.), 1917-1919 ; Appeal Tribunal, 1916-18 ; County Relief Cttee., 1914-19 ; Joint Standing Cttee. for East Riding, 1914-19 ; Cttee. appointed by Lord Lieutenant (appointment of Special Constables, &c.) ; County War Pensions (at present).

YORKSHIRE, NORTH RIDING.

Middlesbrough. C.B.C. Pop. 131,103.

(a) *At Town Hall.* Open to inspection.

Coal Control, 1918-21 (all docs. with Boro' Engineer).

Local Fuel and Lighting Cttee., 1918 (minutes, statistics, registers, corresp., with Boro' Engineer).

Food Control, 1917-20 (minutes, original returns, corresp., registers, lists, &c., with Town Clerk, and see below).

Food Economy Cttee. (all docs. with Town Clerk).

War Allotments Scheme (all docs. with Town Clerk).

Local Military Tribunal (all docs. with Town Clerk).

Recruiting Cttee., 1914-16 (all docs. with Town Clerk).

Recruiting Officers' Advisory Cttee. (minutes, corresp., &c., with Town Clerk).

National Registration, 1915-18 (corresp. with Town Clerk).

Mayor's Relief Fund, 1914-18 (corresp., accts. with Town Clerk).

War Savings Cttee. (all docs. with Boro' Accountant).

Maternity and Infant Welfare Central Cttee., 1915-→ (minutes, &c.).

Air Raid Precautions, 1914-18 (reports, corresp., &c.).

Preparations in event of hostile landing, 1914-18 (docs.).

Special Constables, 1914-18 (registers, records of attendances and duties).

Housing Scheme ; Mayor's Central War Relief Fund ; War Heroes' Fund ; Fund for assisting Disabled and Dependents of the Fallen (docs. with Town Clerk).

Hospital (docs. with Medical Officer) ; Sand Bag Scheme (docs. with Education Cttee.).

Collection of cuttings from local newspapers, 1914-18.

(b) *At Public Library* :—

Files of local newspapers.

(c) *Forwarded to Head-quarters* :—

Belgian Refugees Cttee. (1), 1914-20 (all docs.), to Belgian Government.

Food Control, 1917-20 (accts.).

Food Transport Emergency Measures (all docs. to Min. of Transport).

(d) *Outlying* :—

S. & S.F.A., 1914-18 ; S. & S.H.S., 1914-18 ; Local Relief Cttee., 1914-18 ; Prince of Wales's Fund, 1914-18 (case papers, accts., &c.), with Guild of Help : open to inspection.

Belgian Refugees Cttee. (2), 1914-18 (minutes, three printed reports) ; Canteen for Soldiers with Free Church Council.

At respective local offices : War Pensions Cttee., 1916-→ ; Y.M.C.A.

With respective local secretaries : Local B.R.C. ; local Order of St. John ; Voluntary Workers' Assoc. ; Hospital and Clothing Fund ; Q.M. Needlework Guild ; War Hospital Work Guild ; P. of W. Fund ; Depot for Supplies of Vegetables to Fleet ; Vulcan Munition Workers ; C. of E. Canteen.

Local War History : *The Middlesbrough War Record*, 1922 (including war activities of local firms).

YORKSHIRE, WEST RIDING. C.C.

(a) *At County Hall* :—

Belgian Refugees Cttee., 1914-16 (minutes, accts.), 1914-19 (registers, lists of offers of hospitality, corresp., reports, embarkation returns).

Agricultural Exec. Cttee., 1917-19 (all docs.).

Appeal Tribunal, 1916-18 (some docs.).

War Savings Cttee., 1916-17 (minutes), 1916-19 (corresp., reports, returns, registers, lists, &c.).

(b) *Forwarded to Head-quarters* :—

War Savings Cttee., 1916-19 (accts.), and War Savings Assocs. (all docs.) to National Savings Cttee.

(c) *Outlying* :—

With West Riding Local War Pensions Cttee., docs. of that Cttee. and of S. & S.F.A. and S. & S.H.S.

Barnsley. C.B.C. Pop. 53,670.

(a) *At Town Hall* :—

Belgian Refugees Cttee., 1914-19 (all docs.).

Coal Control, 1918-20; Local Military Tribunal, 1916-18; Battalion-raising Cttee., 1914-16; National Registration, 1915-19.

(b) *Forwarded to Head-quarters* :—

Food Control and Food Economy to Leeds, *q.v.*

(c) *At Public Library* :—

Records concerning 14th Yorks and Lancaster Regt. (Lists, card index, and volume concerning personnel giving full military history).

Files of local newspapers.

(d) *Outlying* :—

War Pensions Cttee., 1916→; S. & S.F.A., 1914→; S. & S.H.S., 1914→; at local Pensions Office.

War Savings Cttee. and Assocs. with Education Cttee.

Special Constables with Chief Constable.

Local Relief Cttee. with former secretary.

Bingley. U.D.C. Pop. 18,000.

(a) *At Council Offices.* Not open to inspection.

Coal Control, 1918-19 (minutes, accts., card indexes).

National Registration, 1915-19.

Housing Scheme, 1919-21 (minutes, accts.).

(b) *Forwarded to Head-quarters* :—

Coal Control (copies of above) to Leeds, *q.v.*

Food Control (except as above) to Leeds, *q.v.*

(c) *Outlying* :—

War Pensions at local office.

With respective local secretaries: Belgian Refugees Cttee.; Food Control, 1918-20; Local Military Tribunal; S. & S.F.A.; Local Distress Fund, 1914-21; War Savings Cttee. and Assocs.; War Memorial Cttee.; S. & S. Christmas Fund.

Bradford. City C. Pop. 285,979.

(a) *At Town Hall.* Open to inspection.

Belgian Refugees Cttee. (minutes, accts.).

Local Relief Cttee., 1914-19 (all docs.).

(b) *Forwarded to Head-quarters* :—

Food Control Cttee. (all docs.).

Belgian Refugees Cttee. (except as above) handed over to Belgian Authorities.

(c) *Outlying* :—

Coal Control with former secretary.

War Pensions Cttee. at local offices.

Files of local newspapers at the Central Free Library.

Local History: *The Bradford War Work Souvenir.*

Castleford. U.D.C. Pop. 23,000.

(a) *At Town Hall.* Open to inspection.

Belgian Refugees Cttee., 1914-20 (all docs.); Coal Control (all docs.).

National Registration (all docs.); Housing Scheme.

Local Relief Cttee., 1914-21 (all docs., two printed reports, including S. & S.F.A. to 1916); National Kitchens Cttee. (minutes, accts.).

(b) *At Carnegie Library* :—

Roll of Honour.

(c) *Forwarded to Head-quarters* :—

Food Control (all docs.).

War Pensions (except as above) to County Cttee.

(d) *Outlying* :—

War Pensions Cttee., 1914-18 (minutes, accts.), at local offices.

With respective local secretaries: Allotments Fed.; Fed. of D. & D. S. & S.; Local Military Tribunal (minutes, &c.) will be preserved.

Elland. U.D.C. Pop. 10,000.

(a) *At Council Offices.* Open to inspection.

Belgian Refugees Cttee., 1914-19 (some docs. preserved).

Coal Control, 1915-19 (some docs. preserved); Allotment Soc.; National Registration; Local Military Tribunal (registers and other docs.).

Local Relief Cttee., 1914-19; War Emergency Measures of Council.

Housing Scheme; War Supply Depot; P. of W. Fund; Files of local newspapers.

(b) *Forwarded to Head-quarters* :—

Food Control (all docs.).

Recruiting Cttee. (some docs. to Halifax Barracks).

War Pensions Cttee. to County Cttee. (all docs.).

(c) *Outlying* :—

B.R.C.; Hospitals.

Leeds. City C. Pop. 458,320.

(a) *At Town Hall and Municipal Buildings* :—

Coal Control, 1917-20 (minutes with Town Clerk, accts. with City Treasurer).

Food Control, 1917-20 (some corresp. with Town Clerk; original returns, registers, lists, &c., with City Treasurer, and see below).

Food Economy Cttee. (all docs, with City Treasurer).

Local Military Tribunal (minutes with Town Clerk).

War Pensions Cttee., 1915-22, including local Relief Cttee., 1916-22 (all docs. with Town Clerk, and see below).

Local Relief Cttee., 1914-16 (minutes with Town Clerk; all other docs. with Lord Mayor's Secretary).

War Savings Cttee. and Assocs., 1916→ (all docs. with City Treasurer).

Communal Kitchens (docs. with City Treasurer).

Council's Relief Works (in parks, highways, &c., and Registration of Employment, 1914-15 (see minutes of General Purposes Cttee., and Departmental Records).

Police, 1st Police Reserve, Special Constabulary, Fire Brigades, Salvage Corps, 1914-19 (printed instructions and all docs. *re* lighting,

petrol, and fire-arms restrictions, War Office, Naval and Munition Act inquiries, food orders, motor controls, national registration, air-raid precautions and duties, &c., with Special Constables).

V.A.Ds., Munition Depots, Infirmaries, &c., 1914-18 (printed instructions and docs. *re* conveyance of combatant wounded and injured munition workers, &c., with Chief Constable).

Public Health, 1919 (registers and particulars of cases *re* day and residential nurseries, with Medical Officer of Health, and see below); 1914-18 (statistics *re* disinfection, &c., of medical bedding with Medical Officer of Health).

Local B.R.C., 1914-19; Comforts for Soldiers' Fund, 1914-19; Y.M.C.A.; Soldiers' Huts, 1914-21; P. of W. Fund, 1914-19 (docs. with City Treasurer).

(b) *At Public Library* :—

Reports on Lord Mayor's Relief Fund; Lady Mayoress's Comforts Cttee.; War Supply Depot.

Posters and Circulars *re* Food Economy Cttee.; Allotment Cttee.; Recruiting Cttee.; War Savings Cttee.

Leeds Flag Day Cttee. (docs.); Files of local newspapers; War Diaries; Fifteen volumes of cuttings *re* local war activities.

(c) *Forwarded to Head-quarters* :—

Food Control, 1917-20 (minutes, accts.), to Min. of Food (NE. Division).

War Pensions Cttee., July 1922, with Min. of Pensions.

(d) *Outlying* :—

Joint Party Recruiting Cttee. and Canvassing Sub-Cttee.

Lord Derby's Scheme (minutes with Leeds Liberal Fed., original returns, &c., with Military Authorities).

At respective local offices: British Legion (including Fed. of D. & D. S. & S.; Three Rs. Club; Lord Roberts Clubs (soldiers' wives); Y.W.C.A. Club.

With respective local secretaries: Belgian Refugees Cttee., 1914-19 (all docs.); Allotment Soc. (all docs.); S. & S.F.A., 1914-19, 1922

(1919-22 collaborated with local B.R.C. and United Services Club); S. & S.H.S.; Residential Nurseries (registers, case papers); Lady Mayoress's Cttee.; Ladies' Visiting Cttee.; Hospital Supply Depot; Bandaging Cttee. and Women's Workroom.

Local War History (including war activities of local firms) in preparation: *Leeds and the Great War, 1914-19.*

Ripon. B.C. Pop. 8,380.

(a) At Council Offices :—

Coal Control (all docs.), 1918-20.

Local Relief Cttee., 1914-22 (all docs.).

(b) Forwarded to Head-quarters :—

Food Control; Economy Cttee.

(c) Outlying :—

With respective local secretaries: Allotment Soc.; Local Military Tribunal, 1915→ (minutes, corresp., registers, &c.).

Recruiting Cttee. (transferred to York); War Pensions Cttee.; S. & S.F.A.; S. & S.H.S.; War Savings Cttee.; War Supply Depot; P. of W. Fund; Fed. of D. & D. S. & S.; Hospitals and Training Centre for Disabled.

Sheffield. City C. Pop. 512,052.

(a) At City Hall :—

Local Fuel and Lighting Cttee., 1918-20 (minutes in those of City C., accts. with City Treasurer; original returns, statistics of consumption, registers, corresp., &c., with City Surveyor).

Food Control, 1914-18 (minutes, and see below).

Local Military Tribunal, 1916-18 (some docs. with Town Clerk).

Local Relief Cttee., 1914-21 (all docs.).

War Savings Cttee., 1916→ (all docs. with Town Clerk).

Special Cttee. as to National Reserve, 1914-16 (minutes, accts., corresp., registers, reports, returns).

Public Health (monthly reports of Medical Officer and Hospital Superintendent).

Erection of houses and hostels for munition workers, 1915-17 (minutes, accts., reports, corresp.).

Collection of newspaper cuttings.

(b) Forwarded to Head-quarters :—

Food Control, 1914-18 (accts., original returns, corresp.), to Min. of Food.

S. & S.H.S., 1901-20 (all docs. except minutes), to London Head-quarters of Soc.

War Savings Assocs., 1916→ (registers of secretaries), with National Savings Cttee.

(c) Outlying :—

Belgian Refugees Cttee., 1914-19 (minutes, accts., registers, lists of offers of hospitality, corresp., embarkation returns), at Belgian Consulate, Sheffield.

At respective local offices: War Pensions Cttee., 1916→; S. & S.F.A. (case papers, card indexes, some accts.); Y.M.C.A.; Y.W.C.A.; British Legion (including Fed. of D. & D. S. & S.); Girls' Patriotic Club.

With respective local secretaries: Allotments Soc., 1916→; P. of W. Fund.

With Mr. J. C. Skinner, 76 Ivy Park Road, Sheffield: Recruiting Cttee., 1915-18 (minutes, corresp., accts., reports); Local Tribunals and Advisory Cttees. (lists, particulars, &c.); Agriculture (corresp., &c.); Supply of Munitions (corresp., accts., particulars *re* public meetings, &c.); Supply of Munitions (three volumes of particulars *re* corresp., munitions firms, accts., &c.); Collection of newspaper cuttings.

Files of local newspapers at Office of same.

Wakefield. City C. Pop. 53,052.

(a) At Town Hall. Open to inspection.

Coal Control, 1918-20 (accts., corresp.).

Food Control, 1917-20 (printed minutes, register, card indexes).

Food Economy Cttee., 1917 (minutes, accts., corresp.).

Local Military Tribunal, 1915-19 (minutes, documents *re* applications for exemption, corresp., Chairman's notes).

Recruiting Cttee., 1914-16 (minutes, corresp., reports).

National Registration, 1915-19 (card indexes, part corresp.).

Mayor War Relief Cttee., 1914-21

(minutes, accts., other records with Social Service Council, Town Hall).
 War Savings Cttee., 1916→ (minutes, accts., of coupons, corresp., reports, registers).

War Loans Campaigns : Tank Week, 1918 ; Destroyer Week, 1918 ; Victory Loan, 1919 (minutes, corresp.).

Emergency Measures of Council *re* Air Raids ; Suspension of Lighting, &c. (minutes).

Files of Wakefield Express (and at Public Library).

Lists of Special Constables at City Police Office.

(b) *Forwarded to Head-quarters :—*

Food Control, 1917–20 (except as above).

War Savings Assocs. (where defunct).
 Munitions of War Cttees., 1915–19 (minutes, corresp., cash books, ledgers, &c.).

(c) *Outlying :—*

War Pensions Cttee., 1916→ (all docs.), at local offices.

With respective local secretaries :
 Belgian Refugees Cttee., 1914–19 (all docs., Register of Refugees kept by the Police) ; Allotment Soc. ; S. & S.F.A., 1914→ (all docs.) ; S. & S.H.S. (all docs.) ; War Supply Depot ; War Hospital Charity ; Workers' League Charity ; P. of W. Help Cttee. (minutes, lists, reports with War Relief Cttee.) ; Association of the Director-General of Voluntary Organizations Charity ; Y.M.C.A. ; High School Charity ; Fed. of D. & D. S. & S. ; Motor Ambulance Fund.

WALES AND MONMOUTHSHIRE

ANGLESEY. No returns.

BRECKNOCK. No returns.

CARDIGAN. No returns.

CARMARTHEN. No returns.

CARNARVON. No returns.

DENBIGH. No returns.

FLINTSHIRE. C.C.

(a) *At County Offices :—*

With Clerk of County Council :
 County Belgian Refugees Cttee. (returns, corresp.) ; Appeal Tri-

bunal (applications, registers, &c.) ;
 County Recruiting Cttee., for 2nd R.W.F. (corresp., &c.) ; County Relief Cttee. (applications for grants from local Cttees.).

With Chief Agricultural Officer :
 Agricultural Exec. Cttee., 1917–20 (minutes, corresp., reports, returns), 1917–18 (statistics of production, registers, lists).

With County Finance Clerk :
 Agricultural Exec. Cttee., 1917–20 (accts.).

(b) *Outlying :—*

War Pensions Cttee. (accts., corresp., &c.), at local offices, Mold.

At County Education Offices, Mold :
 County War Savings Cttee., 1915–20 (all docs.).

At Chief Constable's Office, Mold :
 Special Constables, 1914–18 (applications for enrolment, enrolment registers), preserved.

With respective local secretaries :
 S. & S.F.A. ; War Charities and Organizations for Women's Work.

(c) *With Local Authorities.* U.D.C. and R.D.C.

Local Belgian Refugees Cttee. ; Coal Control ; Food Control ; National Registration ; Local Relief Cttees. ; Local War Savings Cttees. (Rhyl, Prestatyn, Holywell, Flint, Mold) ; Local War Savings Assocs. (23), mostly connected with schools.

GLAMORGAN.

Aberdare. U.D.C. Pop. 55,010.

(a) *At Town Hall :—*

Belgian Refugees Cttee., Aug. 1914–18 ; Coal Control, 1918–20 ; Food Control, 1917–20 ; Allotment Socs., 1915→ ; Local Military Tribunal, 1916–18 (applications for exemption and decision on the same) ; National Registration, 1915–19 ; War Pensions Cttee., 1916→ ; S. & S.F.A., 1914→ ; S. & S.H.S., 1914→ ; Local Relief Cttee., 1914→ ; War Savings Cttee. and Assocs., Local Thrift Assocs., 1916–19.

(b) *At Free Library :—*

Files of local newspapers."

(c) *Outlying :—*

Local B.R.C. ; P. of W. Fund : with respective local secretaries.

Cardiff. City C. Pop. 200,262.

(a) *At City Hall :—*

- Coal Control, 1918–20, accts. at City Hall, and see below).
- Local Military Tribunal, 1916–18 (all docs. with Town Clerk).
- National Registration, 1915–19 (all docs. with Town Clerk).
- Local Relief Cttee., 1914 (minutes with Town Clerk).
- National Relief Cttee., 1920 (minutes).
- Distress Fund, 1920→ including Ward Cttees. (minutes with Town Clerk, accts. with City Treasurer).
- Relief Works, 1914–18 (see Council's Minutes), 1919–22 (docs. with Public Works Cttee.).
- Schools lent to Military Authorities, 1914–18 (see minutes of Education Cttee. and Council).
- City Mental Hospital lent to Military Authorities, 1916–20 (see Minutes of Visiting Cttee.).
- Special Constables, 1914–19 (see Minutes of Watch Cttee., printed reports, seven).
- Treatment of Infectious Diseases, &c., 1914–18 (see minutes of Health Cttee.).
- Production Cttee., 1916–21 ; Housing Schemes (3), 1919→ (see minutes of Housing Cttee.).

(b) *At other Public Offices :—*

- Belgian Refugees Cttee., 1914–19 (minutes, accts., at County Court Offices, final acct. with Chief Constable, and see below).
- Coal Control, 1918–20 (minutes, original returns, registers, corresp., &c., at Corporation Offices, Womanby Street).
- Agricultural Exec. for Glamorgan, 1917–19 (docs. with Secretary at St. Andrew's Crescent, report printed).
- Recruiting Cttee., 1915–18 (minutes, original returns, corresp., reports with Regional Director of Pensions, Angel Buildings, and see below).
- War Pensions Cttees., 1916→ (all docs. with Secretary, St. Mary Street).

(c) *At Central Free Library :—*

- Volumes of proceedings of City Council, open to inspection.

(d) *Forwarded to Head-quarters :—*

- Belgian Refugees Cttee., 1914–19 (registers, lists of offers of hospitality, corresp., reports, embarkation returns), to Belgian Foreign Office.
- Coal Control, 1918–20 (statistics of consumption), to Coal Mines Dept., Bd. of Trade.
- Food Control and Food Economy Cttee. to Food Dept., Bd. of Trade.
- Recruiting Cttee., 1915–18 (personal files of men who did not serve), to Min. of Pensions.
- War Savings Cttee. and Assocs. to National Savings Assoc.
- Glamorgan Motor Volunteer Corps (later National) to War Office, Disposal of Records Section, Isleworth, q.v.

(e) *Outlying :—*

- S. & S.F.A., 1914–16 (minutes, accts., corresp., with Secretary ; original applications, case papers, registers, with Charity Organization Soc.).
- Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, Priory for Wales (records: minutes, corresp., reports, returns, registers, lists, accts., circulars, pamphlets) to be permanently preserved at Priory House, Cathedral Road, Cardiff—open to inspection by accredited persons. Main records of branches of the Priory kept here, including documents of eight hospitals. Proceedings of Local Cttees. with Secretaries. War History of Priory contemplated.
- P. of W. Fund and Records of chief War events in Cardiff and South Wales at *Western Mail, Ltd.*, St. Mary Street.
- Fed. of D. & D. S. & S. (docs. with Organizer, Heath Street).
- Allotment Soc. (29) and General Cttee. (docs. with secretaries).

Neath. B.C. Pop. 18,936.

(a) *Records of Council :—*

- Coal Control, 1918–20 (corresp., &c.), with Boro' Engineer, Gwyn Hall.
- Local Military Tribunal, 1916–18 (minutes, original applications for exemption, registers, and decision on applications), with Town Clerk.
- Housing Scheme, 1918–22 (all docs.), with Town Clerk and Boro' Engineer.

(b) Forwarded to Head-quarters :—

Food Control, 1917-20 (minutes, accts., corresp., prosecutions, &c.), to Cardiff, *q.v.*

Food Economy Cttee., 1917 (accts., copies of docs. destroyed), to Cardiff.

(c) Outlying :—

Special Constables with Chief Constable.

At respective local offices : Allotment and Cottage Garden Assoc., 1918 → (minutes, accts., corresp., lists); Local War Pensions Cttee., 1916 →; War Pensions Hospital; Local War Savings Cttee. (some docs.); Y.M.C.A.; Y.W.C.A.; Fed. of D. & D. S. & S.

With respective local secretaries : S. & S.F.A.; S. & S.H.S.

Swansea. B.C. Pop. 157,561.

At Public Reference Library :—

War Museums Cttee., Library Section (minutes); Recruiting Cttee. (memorandum of activities); Reports of Mayor's Comforts Fund; *Daily Post* P. of W. Fund; Soldiers' Widows and Orphans Fund; Voluntary Canteen; Y.M.C.A.; Women's Agricultural Cttee. (Food Production); Hospital Linen Fund; Serbian Hospital Fund; War Garment Fund; National Girls' Club and Hostel; Volunteer Training Corps; Provision for Belgian Refugees; Provision for Army Band in Palestine; W.A.A.C., &c.

Collections of letters from men on service abroad.

Printed Pamphlet : *The Collection of War Records, 1917*, by Librarian.

MERIONETHSHIRE. No returns.

MONTGOMERY. C.C.

(a) Records of County Council :—

County Agricultural Cttee., Welshpool.

County Relief Fund, Newtown; County Recreation Office, Newtown.

(b) Outlying :—

War Pensions Cttee., 1916 → (all docs.), at local office, Montgomery; Comrades Club (including Fed. of D. & D. S. & S.) at local office, Newtown.

With respective local secretaries : S. & S.F.A.; S. & S.H.S.; Local B.R.C.; Organizations for Women's Work.

(c) With Local Authorities. U.D.C. and R.D.C.

Coal Control; Food Control; Local Military Tribunals; Recruiting Cttees.; National Registration.

PEMBROKESHIRE. No returns.

RADNORSHIRE. No returns.

MONMOUTHSHIRE. C.C.

(a) At County Hall, Newport. Open to inspection by arrangement.

Agricultural Exec. Cttee. (some docs.); Appeal Tribunal with former Clerk.

Register of War Charities.

(b) Outlying :—

With East Monmouth Local War Pensions Cttee., Newport: all docs. of that Cttee., 1916-21; all docs. of Local Relief Cttee., 1914-15.

Files of local newspapers (6) at their respective offices.

(c) With Local Authorities. U.D.C. and R.D.C. Probably open to inspection.

Coal Control (some docs.); Food Control and Food Economy (some docs.).

Local Military Tribunals (some docs.); National Registration (some docs.).

With local War Pensions Cttees.: records of separation allowances, &c.

Note.—A collection of Local War Records for the County is being made at the Central Library, Newport.

Abercarn. U.D.C. Pop. 16,000.

(a) At Council Offices :—

Local Military Tribunal; War Pensions Cttee., 1914-18.

Newspaper cuttings.

(b) Forwarded to Head-quarters :—

Food Control to Ministry of Food.

(c) Outlying :—

War Pensions Cttee., 1918 →; War Savings Cttee. and Assocs.: with respective local secretaries.

Belgian Refugees Relief Fund, Dec. 1914-19, minute books and finan-

cial records with former Treasurer ; Treasurer's Statement of Activities with central Local War Records Cttee.

Nantyglo and Blaina. U.D.C. Pop. 15,000.

(a) *At Council Offices* :—

Food Control, 1917–20 (corresp., &c., see below).

Local Military Tribunal, 1916–18 ; National Registration, 1915–18.

(b) *Forwarded to Head-quarters* :—

Food Control, 1917–20 (minutes, accts.), to Cardiff, *q.v.*

(c) *Outlying* :—

With respective local secretaries : Belgian Relief Cttee., 1915–19 (all docs. open to inspection) ; Coal Control, 1918–19 ; Co-operative Allotments Assoc., 1917–20 ; War Pensions Cttee., 1916–21 ; S. & S.F.A. ; War Relief Cttee. ; 1914–20 ; War Savings Cttee., 1916–22 ; P. of W. Funds (2) ; Fed. of D. & D. S. & S. (2).

SCOTLAND

ABERDEENSHIRE.

Aberdeen. B.C. Pop. 158,969.

(a) *At Public Library* :—

In local collection, Reference Dept. : B.R.C. (docs. used in Aberdeen, 1914–18, reports on Transport, Aberdeen Area, 1918, 1919).

Ladies' Hospital Needlework Guild, War report, 1919.

Food and Fuel Control (pamphlets).

File of local newspapers ; Local publications preserved.

Collection of Local War Records to be increased by deposit of official records.

ARGYLLSHIRE.

No returns.

AYRSHIRE.

Ayr. B.C. 35,741.

At Town Hall :—

Food Control ; National Service ; Local Relief Cttee. ; War Savings Cttee.

Kilmarnock. B.C. Pop. 35,756.

At County Buildings, Ayr :—

Agricultural Exec. Cttee. ; S. & S.H.S.

(b) *At Town Council's Offices, Kilmarnock* :—

Allotment Scheme (docs. with Boro' Surveyor) ; Local Military Tribunal (all docs. with Town Clerk). Local Relief Cttee. (all docs. with Town Chamberlain).

(c) *Forwarded to Head-quarters* :—

War Pensions Cttee., docs. sent to County Office, Ayr.

War Savings Cttee., docs. sent to Edinburgh.

(d) *Belgian Refugees Cttee.* (docs. with former Treasurer at Royal Bank of Scotland, Kilmarnock).

With Chief Constable : Food Control ; Special Constables.

With respective local secretaries : Coal Control ; Allotment Cttees. ; S. & S.F.A. ; Red Cross Cttee. (including Hospital Surgical Dressing Cttee.).

BANFF. No returns.

BERWICK. No returns.

BUTE. No returns.

CAITHNESS. No returns.

CLACKMANNAN. No returns.

DUMFRIES. No returns.

DUMBARTON. C.C.

(a) *At County Council Offices, Dumbarton* :—

Local Military Tribunal, 1916–18.

National Registration, 1915–18.

County War Relief Cttee., 1915–22 (all docs.).

County Fund for Disabled Soldiers and Sailors, 1915–22 (all docs.).

Council's War Emergency Measures, 1914–18 (see minutes of C.C.).

(b) *Forwarded to Head-quarters* :—

Local Coal Control, 1918–20, to Bd. of Trade.

Food Control to Min. of Food.

(c) *Outlying* :—

Agricultural Exec. Cttee. (docs.) at Union Bank of Scotland, Dumbarton.

Police and Special Constables (docs.) with Chief Constable of County.

War Pensions Cttee. at local office.

With respective local secretaries : S. & S.F.A. ; Local B.R.C. (in-

cluding Hospitals); War Supply Depot.
Files of local newspapers at office of same.

ELGIN and MURRAY. No returns.

FIFE. No returns.

FORFAR.

Arbroath. B.C. Pop. 20,600.

(a) *At Council Offices.* Open to inspection.

Coal Control, 1918-19 (minutes, statistics of consumption, registers, lists).

National Registration, 1915 → (card indexes).

Local Relief Cttee. (minutes, original applications, case papers, lists, particulars of cases relieved).

Building Scheme (minutes, contracts); Public Health (minutes).

(b) *Forwarded to Head-quarters :—*

Food Control.

(c) *Outlying :—*

War Pensions Cttee., Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A.; Fed. of D. & D. S. & S.: at respective local offices.

Agricultural Exec. Cttee.; Allotment Soc.; S. & S.H.S.; War Savings Cttee.; B.R.C. Soc.; War Supply Depot; P. of W. Fund: with respective local secretaries.

Special Constables, 1915-19 (Record of Service), with Chief Constable.

Files of local newspapers at their offices.

Dundee. City C. Pop. 168,217.

(a) *With Town Clerk :—*

Coal Control (minutes, accts., statistics of consumption, registers, lists, corresp.).

Local Military Tribunal (all docs.); Recruiting Cttee. (all docs.).

(b) *With Lord Provost's Secretary :—*

P. of W. Funds.

(c) *Forwarded to Head-quarters :—*

Food Control and Food Economy Cttee. to Office of Works.

(d) *Outlying :—*

War Pensions Cttee., 1916→, with Chief Area Officer, Local Pensions Office.

Lord Roberts Memorial Workshop.

With respective local secretaries:

S. & S.F.A., 1914→; S. & S.H.S., 1914→; War Savings Cttee. and Assocs.

EAST LOTHIAN.

Edinburgh. City C. Pop. 420,281.

At City Chambers. Council's War Records will be preserved and are open to inspection.

INVERNESS.

Inverness. B.C. Pop. 20,909.

(a) *At Town Hall.* Council's minutes open to inspection.

Coal Control (all important docs.);

National Registration (all docs.).

Local Military Tribunal (all docs.);

Recruiting Cttee. (a few docs.).

Local Relief Cttee. (some docs. with Town Chamberlain, and see records of Council).

War Savings Cttee. (all docs.);

Local Emergency Cttee. (see Records of Council).

Special Constables (docs. with Chief Constable).

Files of local newspapers (and at Public Library).

(b) *Forwarded to Head-quarters :—*

Food Control.

(c) *Outlying :—*

County Appeal Tribunal (docs. with the Sheriff's Clerk at the Castle, Inverness).

With respective local secretaries: Belgian Refugees Cttee.; Agricultural Exec. Cttee.; S. & S.F.A.; S. & S.H.S.

For other War Activities see Files of Local Newspapers.

KINCARDINE. No returns.

KINROSS. No returns.

KIRKCUDBRIGHT. C.C. of Stewartry.

(a) *At County Clerk's Office :—*

Coal Control (for County).

National Registration, 1915-19.

(b) *Forwarded to Head-quarters :—*

Food Control to Ministry of Food.

(c) *Outlying :—*

Agricultural Exec. Cttee. at Newton Steward (all docs.).

Local Tribunal with former Clerk at Castle Douglas.

War Pensions Cttee., 1916→ (all

docs.), at local offices, Castle Douglas.

War Savings Cttee. (County and Castle Douglas) with local Education Cttee.

Special Constables (list) with Chief Constable.

P. of W. Fund with K.O.S.B. Regimental Cttee.

Free Gift Sales with Stewartry Farmers' Club.

With respective local secretaries: S. & S.F.A.; S. & S.H.S.; Local B.R.C. (including War Supply Depot).

Files of local newspapers (5) at their respective offices.

LANARKSHIRE.

Glasgow. City and C.C. Pop. 1,034,069.

The following Local War Records have been traced by the Glasgow War Records Cttee.

(a) *Records of Corporation* :—

An index of all Municipal War Records, including the War Committees and Organizations under the control of the Corporation from 1914, with particulars of the Departments of the Corporation in which they are preserved, is being compiled under the direction of the Town Clerk.

Coal Control: Records of Fuel Overseer at 3 Dundas Street; Records of Coal and Coke Supplies Cttee. with Secretaries, the last being H. Bamber, Esq., 50 George Square.

Food Control: Records at City Hall.

Belgian Refugees Central Cttee. for Scotland: Records (printed) at City Assessor's Office, City Chambers. See also *Report on the Work undertaken by the British Government in the Reception and Care of Belgian Refugees* (printed).

Education Authority Records at their Office.

Tramways Dept.: Report showing war-work undertaken by Dept. in hands of Glasgow War Records Cttee., including Recruiting, Substitution of women for men in Dept., Pipe and tobacco fund for Scottish Batts., Schemes for comforts for troops, Food economy and War Savings Campaigns, Organization of entertainments for wounded, Distribution of pamphlets of Scot-

tish War Aims Cttee., Collections and contributions for War Charity Funds. Records of Tramway Dept. at 48 Bath Street.

With Lord Provost's Secretary, City Chambers: Records of Prince Albert Workshops for the Training of Disabled Soldiers and Sailors, Lord Provost's Fund for Soldiers and Sailors' Dependents, Russian Commercial Fund (formed for closer union between Russia and England), Serbian Refugees Fund (for reception and education of surviving Serbian boys).

(b) *Collection at Mitchell Library, Glasgow.* It is hoped that all Glasgow War Records of great value will be deposited herein. The following are to be deposited :—

Scottish Women's Hospitals (staffed entirely by women; units working in distant fields of war; Hospitals at Calais 1914-15, Serbia 1914-15, 1918-19, Troyes 1915, Salonika 1915-19, Corsica 1915-19, Ostrovo 1916-18, Vraza 1918-19, Russia 1916-17, Sallanches 1918-19, Belgrade 1919). Records comprise minutes, reports, accts., financial statements, including particulars of social and economic conditions as well as medical details. MS. Diaries exist concerning this service, and these will probably remain with the writers.

Many Books and Articles also have been published, e. g. *The Life of Dr. Elsie Inglis*, by Lady Frances Balfour; *With the Scottish Nurses in Roumania*, by Ivonna Fitzroy; *At the Serbian Front*, by E. P. Stebbing. Efforts are being made to arrange for the deposit in the Library of diaries and other manuscript material reflecting the social and economic effects of the War.

(c) *Forwarded to Headquarters* :—

Records *re* Government Control of Engineering to Min. of Labour.

Records *re* supervision of Women's Labour on Munitions to Min. of Munitions.

Records *re* Admiralty Gun Programme to Admiralty.

(d) *Outlying* :—

Food Production: Records *re* Allotments on land of Railway

- Companies with the Companies. For particulars *re* other allotments see Records of the Glasgow and District Fed. of Allotment Holders Assocs. with the Sec., R. Beattie, 478 Keppochhill Road. *See also* the *Scottish Small Holder, Allotment Holder, and Gardener*, published weekly by the Munro Press.
- War Pensions: Records at local offices, Dunlop Street and Adelphi Hotel.
- Scottish Branch of B.R.C. (supply of ambulances; maintenance of Scottish hospitals at Rouen, Springburn Hospital, Bellahouston, Ralston Hospital for paralysed service men and 160 auxiliary hospitals; V.A.Ds.; provision of hospital garments, comforts, surgical stores and dressings for 429 hospitals, &c.; free tobacco and cigarettes for patients in same; collection of eggs and game; supply of artificial provisional limbs; comforts for P. of W.; care of discharged disabled soldiers): Records with Secretary, 86 Vincent Square.
- Princess Louise Scottish Hospital for Maimed and Limbless Sailors and Soldiers, Erskine House (supply of artificial limbs and training of disabled inmates for trades): Records *re* treatment, training, and settlement of inmates at Erskine House; accts., reports, appeals, press cuttings, &c., with Major T. A. Harvie Anderson (Hon. Treas.), 201 West George Street. Publication: *The Erskine Provisional Limb*, Sir Wm. MacEwen.
- French Relief Fund: Records at French Consulate, 17 Blythswood Square.
- Italian Relief Fund: Records at Italian Consulate, Sauchiehall Street.
- Scottish Herb-growing Assoc. (to produce additional medicinal and other herbs during war): Records with Miss Story, Lilybank Gardens, Glasgow.
- National Assoc. for Employment of Reserve and Discharged Soldiers: Records with Major W. Ross, 139 Bath Street.
- Scottish Council of Women's Trades: Reports on employment for Women during the War, and other Records with Secretary, Miss Irwin, 58 Renfield Street.
- National Council of Women: Records with Secretary, Miss Tucker, 13 Newton Place, Glasgow.
- Among the Records of Trade, Benevolent, and Friendly Associations, some are of especial interest as showing diverse economic effects of the War. For example:
- Glasgow Houseowners' Association: Records *re* restriction on rents, 173 St. Vincent Street; and see Report and Evidence of Dept. Cttee. on increases in rental in small dwelling-houses in . . . Glasgow, 1915-16 (Cd. 8111 and Cd. 8154).
- Steel Makers' Assoc. of Scotland: Records comprise minutes, reports, verbatim record of evidence on behalf of Scottish Steel Makers before the Iron and Steel Industries Cttee., 1917; Memoranda furnished by Assoc. to Bd. of Trade Cttee. on Iron and Steel Industries, 1916; to Bd. of Trade Cttee. on Commercial Industry, 1917, and to Shipping and Shipbuilding Cttee., 1917. Records in custody of Secretary, 77 St. Vincent Street.
- Institute of Engineers and Shipbuilders in Scotland: Records comprising Minutes, MS. Reports and Transactions (printed) at Elmbank Crescent.
- Glasgow Savings Bank: Records including Annual Reports of Trustees (printed) and Proceedings at Meetings (printed) at Head Office, Ingram Street.
- See also* Records of Building Trades and Housing Assoc. and Building Trades Unions; Coal, Iron, and Steel Assocs. and Trades Unions; Food Distribution Assocs. and Trades Unions; Shipping Assocs. and Trades Unions, and Miscellaneous Trades Assocs.; also Assocs. for the Relief of Distress and similar objects (care of immigrants, &c.).
- A list of these organizations has been compiled by the Glasgow War Records Cttee., and can be obtained from Professor W. R. Scott, at the University, Glasgow.
- Note.*—For the University, Royal Technical College, West of Scotland Agricultural College and School for Social Studies, *see under*

Universities and Colleges. For the Chamber of Commerce see *sub titulo*.

LINLITHGOW. No returns.

MIDLOTHIAN. No returns.

NAIRN. No returns.

ORKNEY. No returns.

PEEBLES. No returns.

PERTH.

Perth. City C. Pop. 125,515.

At City Chambers :—

Records of Food Control, Local Military Tribunal, National Registration, with some other War Records of Council, will be preserved.

RENFREW.

Greenock. B.C. Pop. 81,120.

(a) *At Municipal Buildings :—*

Coal Control, 1918–20 (docs. with Town Clerk and Inspector of Weights and Measures).

Local Military Tribunal, 1916–18 (all docs. with Town Clerk).

National Registration, 1915–19 (all docs. with Town Clerk).

Local Relief Cttee., 1921–2, including state-aided Relief Works (all docs.).

Special Constables, 1914–19 (register).

Council's War Emergency Measures, Public Health, Housing (see minutes of Council).

Provision of House for Disabled under Scottish Veterans and Garden City Assoc. (docs. with Town Clerk).

(b) *At Collecting Hall :—*

War Savings Cttee. and Assocs., 1916.

Food Economy Publicity Campaign, 1917.

(c) *Forwarded to Head-quarters :—*

Food Control (minutes, &c.) to Food Dept., Bd. of Trade.

(d) *Outlying :—*

War Pensions Cttee., 1916–22 (all docs.), at local offices.

With respective local secretaries: Belgian Refugees Cttee., 1915–19 (accts., &c.); S. & S.F.A., and S. & S.H.S., 1914–22; Provost's Fund for Dependents of Fallen; P. of

W. Help Cttee.; Local B.R.C.; Comforts for Soldiers (several Funds); Wounded Soldiers (several Funds).

Files of local newspapers at their respective local offices.

Johnstone. B.C. Pop. 12,000.

(a) *At Town Hall :—*

Belgian Refugees Cttee., 1916–18 (all docs.).

Coal Control, 1918–20, and Emergency Coal Control, 1921 (all docs.).

Food Economy Cttee., 1917–18 (all docs.).

Local Military Tribunal, 1915–18 (all docs.).

National Registration, 1915–18 (all docs.).

Local Relief Cttee., 1914 (all docs.).

War Savings Cttee. and Assocs., 1916 (all docs.).

War Heroes; Flag Days; Distress Cttee.; Defence Cttee.

Volunteer Cttee.; Prince of Wales's Fund, 1914–18.

Emergency Cttee. of Council (minutes, corresp.).

Special Constables (all docs.); Housing Schemes (minutes).

Employment and Public Health (minutes of Council).

(b) *Forwarded to Head-quarters :—*

Food Control, 1917–20 (all docs.).

(c) *Outlying :—*

War Pensions Cttee.; B.R.C. Soc.; Y.M.C.A.; Y.W.C.A.; United Services Club, Ltd., with respective local secretaries.

Paisley. B.C. Pop. 84,837.

At Town Clerk's Office :—

All local war records of Council will be preserved.

ROSS and CROMARTY. No returns.

ROXBURGH. No returns.

SELKIRK. No returns.

STIRLING.

Stirling. B.C. Pop. 21,345.

(a) *At Council Offices.* Open to inspection.

Coal Control, 1918–20 (minutes, statistics of consumption, registers, corresp., with Town Clerk; accts. with Town Chamberlain).

- Food Control, 1917-20 (minutes with Town Clerk, accts. with Town Chamberlain).
 Food Economy Cttee. (minutes, corresp., with Town Clerk; accts. with Town Chamberlain).
 Allotment Soc. (minutes, corresp., with Town Clerk; accts. with Town Chamberlain).
 Local Military Tribunal (all docs. with Town Clerk).
 National Registration (all docs. with Town Clerk).
 National Relief Fund (all docs. with Town Clerk).
 War Savings Cttee. (all docs. with Town Clerk).
 Housing Scheme (minutes with Town Clerk).
- (b) *At Public Library* :—
 Files of local newspapers (3).
- (c) *Outlying* :—
 Special Constables (docs. among Police Records).
 At respective local offices : War Pensions Cttee.; S. & S.F.A.; Y.M.C.A.; Comrades of the Great War.
 With local secretary : War Supply Depot; P. of W. Fund.

SUTHERLAND. No returns.

WIGTOWN. No returns.

ZETLAND. C.C.

- (a) *At Council's Office, Lerwick.* Open to inspection.
 Local Military Tribunal (with County Clerk).
 National Registration (with County Clerk).
 Local Relief Cttee. (with Town Clerk).
- (b) *Forwarded to Head-quarters* :—
 Food Control (minutes, accts., &c.) to Edinburgh.
- (c) *Outlying* :—
 Agricultural Exec. Cttee., 1917-21 (minutes, corresp., accts., reports, to be preserved at North of Scotland Agricultural College, Lerwick).
 War Pensions Cttee., at local offices, Lerwick.
 S. & S.H.S., at Commercial Bank, Lerwick.
 S. & S.F.A., War Savings Cttee., with respective local secretaries.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF LOCAL DISTRICTS

Particulars of the War Records of these districts will be found under the county as here given. Metropolitan Borough Councils (M.B.C.) are given under London. Where the county is not given it has the same name as the borough.

Abercarn U.D.C. (Mon.)
 Aberdare U.D.C. (Glam.)
 Aberdeen B.C.
 Acton U.D.C. (Middx.)
 Arbroath B.C. (Forfar.)
 Audley U.D.C. (Staffs.)
 Ayr B.C.
 Bacup B.C. (Lancs.)
 Barnet U.D.C. (Herts.)
 Barnsley C.B.C. (W.R. Yorks.)
 Battersea M.B.C.
 Beccles B.C. (E. Suffs.)
 Beckenham U.D.C. (Kent)
 Bedfordshire C.C.
 Bermondsey M.B.C.
 Bingley U.D.C. (W.R. Yorks.)
 Birmingham City and C.C. (Warw.)
 Blackburn B.C. (Lancs.)
 Bolton C.B.C. (Lancs.)
 Bradford City C. (W.R. Yorks.)
 Bristol City C. (Glouc.)
 Burnley C.B.C. (Lancs.)

Burton-upon-Trent B.C. (Staffs.)
 Camberwell M.B.C.
 Cardiff City C. (Glam.)
 Carlisle City C. (Cumb.)
 Carshalton U.D.C. (Surrey).
 Castleford (W.R. Yorks.)
 Chelsea M.B.C.
 Congleton B.C. (Chesh.)
 Consett U.D.C. (Dur.)
 Coventry City C. (Warw.)
 Croydon B.C. (Surrey)
 Darlington C.B.C. (Dur.)
 Deptford M.B.C.
 Dorking U.D.C. (Surrey)
 Dudley B.C. (Worcs.)
 Dumbarton C.C.
 Dundee City C. (Forfar.)
 Durham C.C.
 Eastbourne B.C. (E. Sussex)
 Edinburgh City C. (E. Lothian)
 Elland U.D.C. (W.R. Yorks.)
 Ellesmere Port and Whitby U.D.C. (Chesh.)

- Essex C.C.
 Exeter City C. (Devon.)
 Feltham U.D.C. (Middx.)
 Finchley U.D.C. (Middx.)
 Flintshire C.C.
 Friern Barnet U.D.C. (Middx.)
 Frimley U.D.C. (Surrey)
 Glasgow City C. and C.C. (Lanark.)
 Gloucestershire C.C.
 Greenock B.C. (Renfrew.)
 Hackney M.B.C.
 Hampshire C.C.
 Harrow-on-the-Hill U.D.C. (Middx.)
 Hastings C.B.C. (E. Sussex)
 Heanor U.D.C. (Derby.)
 Hendon U.D.C. (Middx.)
 Heston and Hounslow U.D.C. (Middx.)
 Hinckley U.D.C. (Leic.)
 Hindley U.D.C. (Lancs.)
 Holborn M.B.C.
 Inverness B.C.
 Isle of Wight C.C.
 Islington M.B.C.
 Johnstone B.C. (Renfrew.)
 Kilmarnock B.C. (Ayr.)
 Kirkcudbright C.C.
 Lambeth M.B.C.
 Launceston B.C. (Cornw.)
 Leeds City C. (W.R. Yorks.)
 Leicester City C.
 Leicestershire C.C.
 Lincolnshire (Kesteven C.C.)
 Lincolnshire (Lindsey C.C.)
 Littleborough U.D.C. (Lancs.)
 London C.C.
 London City C.
 Lowestoft B.C. (E. Suffs.)
 Luton B.C. (Beds.)
 Manchester City C. (Lancs.)
 Middlesbrough C.B.C. (N.R. Yorks.)
 Middlesex C.C.
 Monmouthshire C.C.
 Montgomery C.C.
 Nantyglo and Blaina U.D.C. (Mon.)
 Neath B.C. (Glam.)
 Newcastle-upon-Tyne City C. (Northum.)
 Newport B.C. (Mon.)
 New Romney B.C. (Kent)
 Northampton B.C.
 Northamptonshire C.C.
 Norwich City C. (Norf.)
 Nottingham City C.
 Oldham B.C. (Lancs.)
 Oswestry B.C. (Staffs.)
 Paddington M.B.C.
 Penge U.D.C. (Kent)
 Perth City C.
 Preston B.C. (Lancs.)
 Reading B.C. (Berks.)
 Ripon B.C. (W.R. Yorks.)
 Rochdale B.C. (Lancs.)
 Royton U.D.C. (Lancs.)
 Rugby U.D.C. (Warw.)
 St. Albans City C. (Herts.)
 St. Marylebone M.B.C.
 Salford B.C. (Lancs.)
 Sheffield City C. (W.R. Yorks.)
 Shildon and East Thickley U.D.C. (Dur.)
 Shropshire C.C.
 Smethwick C.B.C. (Staffs.)
 Somersetshire C.C.
 Southgate U.D.C. (Middx.)
 South Mimms R.D.C. (Middx.)
 South Shields B.C. (Dur.)
 Southwark M.B.C.
 Southwold B.C. (E. Suffs.)
 Staines U.D.C. (Middx.)
 Stamford B.C. (Lincs. Kesteven)
 Stirling B.C.
 Stratford-upon-Avon B.C. (Warw.)
 Stretford U.D.C. (Lancs.)
 Suffolk (East) C.C.
 Sunbury-on-Thames U.D.C. (Middx.)
 Surbiton U.D.C. (Surrey)
 Surrey C.C.
 Swansea B.C. (Glam.)
 Torquay B.C. (Devon.)
 Tottenham B.C. (Middx.)
 Uxbridge R.D.C. (Middx.)
 Wakefield City C. (W.R. Yorks.)
 Walsall B.C. (Staffs.)
 Walthamstow U.D.C. (Essex).
 Walton-le-Dale U.D.C. (Lancs.)
 Wandsworth M.B.C.
 Warrington C.B.C. (Lancs.)
 Warwickshire C.C.
 Wembley U.D.C. (Middx.)
 West Hartlepool C.B.C. (Dur.)
 Westminster City C. (London)
 Wigan B.C. (Lancs.)
 Willesden U.D.C. (Middx.)
 Wolverhampton B.C. (Staffs.)
 Woodford U.D.C. (Essex)
 Worcester City C.
 Worcestershire C.C.
 Yarmouth, Great B.C. (Norfolk)
 Yorkshire, East Riding C.C.
 Yorkshire, West Riding C.C.
 Zetland C.C.

APPENDIX F

SUMMARY LIST OF BRITISH ARCHIVES¹

ARCHIVES OF ENGLAND AND WALES²

Classification	Description	Repository
I. <i>Central Archives.</i>		
1. Public Records.	Judicial proceedings and State Papers in the custody of the Master of the Rolls.	Public Record Office. ³
2. Departmental Records.	Judicial proceedings and official documents under the charge and superintendence of the Master of the Rolls.	Public Record Office, Courts of Justice, Government Departments, and Statutory Registries. ⁴
II. <i>Local Archives.</i>		
1. Departmental Records (outlying).	Judicial proceedings and official documents of the High Court or Public Offices (London).	In District Registries of Central Courts or branch offices of Government Departments.
2. Courts of Local Jurisdiction.	Records of County Courts, Coroners' Courts, and Police Courts.	In the custody of the officers of the Courts.
3. Statutory Committees or Trusts and Public Institutions.	Records of Turnpike Trusts, Harbour Boards, &c., Collections in Public Libraries or Museums.	In the custody of the clerks of the Boards or of the Librarians or Curators.
4. County Records.	Quarter Sessions and County Council Records. ⁵	In the custody of the Clerks of the Peace and County Council (Shire Hall or County Hall).
5. Town Records.	Judicial and Administrative Records. ⁵	In the custody of the Town Clerks and Clerks of the Peace, or of the Clerks to the Urban or Rural District Councils.
6. Ecclesiastical Records.	Proceedings of the Ecclesiastical and local courts, title-deeds, &c.	In the custody of the Registrars or officials of the Bishops, Deans, Chaplains, and Archdeacons. ⁶

¹ The object of the following summary statement of the contents and distribution of the British Archives is to indicate the nature of the several collections with which the records of the World War must eventually be incorporated or associated as soon as they become available for public use.

² See Chaps. VII and VIII for other National Archives of the British Empire.

³ See 1912 Report, Appx. (II), p. 87 sq. Subsidiary Records of the Great Sessions of Wales (1543-1830) are deposited in the National Library of Wales with other Civil and Ecclesiastical Records.

⁴ See 1914 Report, Appx. (II), p. 87 seq., and *Repertory*, pp. 163-73.

⁵ Deposited records (sometimes of early date) are also occasionally found. Sessions Records have in some cases been retained by a Custos Rotulorum or other official.

⁶ The official records of the Consistory Courts in Wales have been vested in the Welsh Church Commissioners under the Act of 1913 for disestablishing and disendowing

Classification	Description	Repository
7. Parish Records.	Ecclesiastical (e. g. Parish Registers) and Secular (e. g. Churchwardens' and Overseers' Accounts) Records.	In the custody of the Incumbents and Churchwardens or Parish Council (Church Chest or Parish Chest).
8. Private Records.	Muniments of Professional or Trading Corporations, Learned Societies, and Private Collections.	In the custody of the Librarians or owners.

ARCHIVES OF SCOTLAND ¹I. *Central Archives.*

1. Public Records.	Administrative and Judicial proceedings, State Papers, Title-deeds, Registers of Grants and Titles, &c., and records of extinct jurisdictions in the Custody of the Deputy Clerk Register.	General Register House (Edinburgh).
2. Departmental Records.	Judicial and Administrative proceedings.	Courts of Justice and Government Departments (Edinburgh), ² (if not transferred to the General Register House or to the Scottish Office in London).

II. *Local Archives.*

1. Departmental Records (outlying).	Judicial proceedings and official documents of the High Court or Public Offices.	In District Registries of the Central Courts or in branch offices of Government Departments throughout Scotland (if not transferred as above). ³
2. Courts of Local Jurisdiction.	Records of Sheriffs Courts, Regality Courts, and Petty Sessions. ⁴	In the Custody of the officers of the Courts, or of the Clerks of the Peace (if not transferred as above).
3. Statutory Committees or Trusts and Public Institutions.	Records of Trusts, Boards, Public Libraries, and Museums.	In the custody of the clerks of the Boards, or of the Librarians or Curators.
4. County Records.	Records of Quarter Sessions, County Councils, and District Committees.	In the custody of the Clerks of the Peace and County Council, &c. ⁵

the Welsh Church. The title-deeds of the English and Welsh Sees or Chapters administered by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners are presumably vested in them; but the position herein was regarded by the Royal Commission of 1910 as unsatisfactory.

¹ See Chapter VII.

² As the Government of Great Britain has been carried on in London since the Act of Union (1707), and as no separate provision has been made in the Record Acts for the records remaining in the Courts and Departments in Scotland, it must be assumed that in most cases these are at the disposal of the Central Department in London. It has not been decided if records of the Scottish Office in London are extra-territorial.

³ The earlier registers of Sasines and Hornings, together with the County and Burgh Valuation Rolls, are regularly transmitted to the General Register House. Reports on the Local Registers have been also transmitted and some are still received.

⁴ The office of Coroner does not exist in Scotland.

⁵ A large number of Judicial and Administrative proceedings which should

Classification	Description	Repository
5. Burghal Records.	Judicial and Administrative Records.	In the custody of the Town Clerks and Clerks of the Peace, or of the Clerks to the Urban or Rural District Councils. ¹
6. Ecclesiastical Records.	Proceedings of the Kirk Sessions and Episcopal Synod, &c. ²	In the custody of the agent or registrar.
7. Parish Records.	Ecclesiastical and Secular Records.	In the custody of the Ministers and Elders or Parish Councils. ²
8. Private Records.	Muniments of Professional or Trading Corporations, Learned Societies or Historical Clubs, and Private Collections.	In the custody of the Librarians or owners. ³

ARCHIVES OF IRELAND ⁴I. *Central Archives.*

1. Public Records.	Judicial and administrative proceedings and miscellaneous documents in the custody of the Master of the Rolls. ⁵	Public Record Office (Dublin).
2. Departmental Records.	Judicial proceedings, State Papers, and Official documents under the charge and superintendence of the Master of the Rolls.	Public Record Office, State Paper Office (Dublin Castle), Courts of Justice and Government Departments. ⁶

II. *Local Archives.*

1. Records of Courts of Local Jurisdiction and Departmental Records (outlying).	Judicial and administrative proceedings.	In District Registries of the Central Courts; or in branch offices of Government Departments. ⁷
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presumably have been transferred to the General Register House are deposited either with the County, Burghal, or Parish records.

¹ See the Publications of the Scottish Burgh Record Society (1869-82).

² The early records of the Pre-Reformation local Commissary Courts and some miscellaneous records of the Post-Reformation Church have been transferred to the General Register House.

³ Cf. *Scottish Historical Clubs*, by Professor C. S. Terry.

⁴ See Chap. VIII. The following statement refers to conditions prior to 1916. It is scarcely necessary to remark, once more, that the condition and even the existence of various central or local records in Ireland is now a matter of considerable uncertainty.

⁵ Including local Records (Civil and Ecclesiastical) transferred under modern Acts of Parliament; Records of Public Departments, and Records of abolished or expired jurisdictions or commissions (transferred or deposited) and private documents (deposited).

⁶ The Revenue and Service Departments were at the disposal of the Head-quarters in London. Of the others, the former records of the Chief Secretary's Office were the most important. For details of the former Irish Departmental Records (Military and Customs) see 1914 Report, Appx. (II).

⁷ The judicial business is largely centralized in Dublin. There are local Land Registry Offices; but Wills were preserved in the Public Record Office.

Classification	Description	Repository
	Records of County Courts, Coroners' Courts, and Police Courts.	In the custody of Clerks of the Crown and Clerks of the Peace, or of officers of the Courts (if not transferred to the Public Record Office, Dublin). ¹
2. Statutory Committees or Trusts and Public Institutions.	Records of Trusts, Boards, Public Libraries, and Museums, &c.	In the custody of the clerks of the Boards or of the Librarians or Curators (if not transferred to the Public Record Office, Dublin). ²
3. County Records.	Quarter Sessions and County Council Records.	In the custody of the Clerks of the Peace and Secretaries to the County Councils (if not transferred to the Public Record Office, Dublin). ²
4. Town Records.	Judicial and Administrative Records.	In the custody of the Clerks of the Peace, or of the Clerks of the City, Town, Borough, Urban, or Rural District Councils. ²
5. Ecclesiastical Records.	Proceedings of Ecclesiastical Authorities.	In the custody of the Registrars or officials of the Bishops, Deans, Chapters, and Archdeacons. ³
6. Parish Records.	Ecclesiastical and Secular Records.	In the custody of the clergy, or of the Parish or District Councils (if not transferred to the Public Record Office, Dublin). ⁴
7. Private Records.	Muniments of Professional or Trading Corporations, Learned Societies, and Private Collections.	In the custody of the Librarians or owners (if not deposited in the Public Record Office, Dublin). ⁵

¹ These Circuit Records and the Quarter Sessions Records, formerly in the custody of the Clerk of the Crown, the Clerk of the Peace, or the Secretary to the Grand Jury, were transferred to the Public Record Office (Dublin) between 1887 and 1908, but only a small proportion of the records referred to in the 1810 Report appear to have been transferred. The fate of the others may be conjectured from the returns made to the Local Records Committee of 1899 (Appx., p. 145 n.).

² See above p. 150, n. 2, and Appx. E.

³ So far as these records have not been transferred to the Public Record Office or otherwise disposed of in consequence of the disestablishment and disendowment of the Irish Church in 1870.

⁴ In certain cases the Master of the Rolls in Ireland has exercised the powers given to him by the Irish Public Record Office Act of 1867 for the purpose of removing Parish Registers into his immediate custody. The condition of the parochial records in Ireland, already very bad, must have become still worse during recent years.

⁵ The Irish Master of the Rolls had power, under the Act of 1867, to receive private documents on deposit. A large number of Irish records of a public nature, from the Court Rolls of manors to judicial records of the King's Courts and State Papers or Departmental Records, have found their way into private collections or have been transferred to the Public Record Office, London. See above, Chap. VII.

ARCHIVES OF THE ISLE OF MAN

Classification	Description	Repository
I. <i>Central Archives</i> . ¹	<p>Proceedings of Superior Courts and House of Keys.</p> <p>Registries of Documents, Deeds, Wills, Parish Registers, Diocesan Acts, &c.</p> <p>Official and Departmental (Home Office) Correspondence, &c.</p>	<p>Rolls Office (Clerk of the Rolls), Douglas.</p> <p>Government House, Douglas.</p>
II. <i>Local Archives</i> .	Records of Local Courts; Branch Offices ² of Public Departments; Statutory Authorities; Town Records, Ecclesiastical Records; Parish Records, Public Institutions, and Private Collections.	In the custody of the several custodians or owners in the Island or elsewhere.

ARCHIVES OF THE CHANNEL ISLANDS

I. <i>Central Archives</i> . ³	<p>Proceedings of the Royal Courts and States.</p> <p>Registry of Contracts.</p> <p>Registry of the Ecclesiastical Court.</p> <p>Official and Departmental Correspondence (Home Office and Privy Council Office).</p>	<p>Royal Courts (in the custody of the Bailiff and Greffier).</p> <p>Royal Courts (in the custody of the Dean).</p> <p>Government House.</p>
II. <i>Local Archives</i> .	Branch Offices of Public Departments (London); ⁴ Statutory Authorities; Communal Records (Civil and Ecclesiastical), and Private Collections. ⁵	In the custody of the respective officials or owners.

ARCHIVES OF THE DOMINIONS⁶

I. <i>Central Archives</i> . ⁷	<p>(A) Of the Dominion, Commonwealth, or Union.</p> <p>(B) Of the individual States within the same.</p>	In the custody of the Ministers of Departments, the Clerk of the House of Representatives, and the High Court of Justice.
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¹ See 1914 Report, Appx. (II), pp. 72-4.² *Ibid.*, Appx. (II and III), pp. 73-7, 75-9.³ *Ibid.*, Appx. (II), p. 243; cf. Appx. (III), p. 74.⁴ Proceedings and Publications of the *Société Jersiaise* (*passim*).⁵ Including the Indian Empire. As to the transfer of some of these archives to London, see above, p. 172 n. 2.⁶ There is naturally a considerable variation in constitutional details. As to this, see above, Chap. VIII.⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 245, 249, 250.

Classification	Description	Repository
	(C) Of the Imperial Government.	At Government House.
	(D) In the High Commissioner's Office (London). ¹	For transfer to the Dominion.
II. <i>Provincial Repositories.</i>		
	(A) Federal Collection. ²	In the same custody as I (A) above (unless transferred).
	(B) Branch Offices of the Central Courts and Departments.	In the custody of the respective local officers.
	(C) County, Municipal, and District Records (Civil and Ecclesiastical).	Do. Do.
	(D) Public and Private Collections.	In the custody of Librarians, Curators, or owners.

ARCHIVES OF THE CROWN COLONIES ³I. *Central Archives.*

Colonial Acts, Records of the Council and Assembly, and Official Registry (Deeds, &c.).	In the custody of the Island Secretary, or Colonial Secretary, or Registrar.
Records of Judicial Proceedings.	At the Court House.
Fiscal Records.	In the custody of the Island Treasurer or Colonial Treasurer.
Departmental Records.	In the custody of the respective officers (unless transferred to the Colonial Secretary's Office, or to London).

II. *Local Archives.*⁴

Records of Statutory Authorities, Public Departments, ⁵ Public Institutions, and Private Collections.	In local colonial repositories (unless transferred to London). ⁶
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¹ Extra-territorial Records presumably.² These exist in practice, except in the case of Canada where the Dominion Archives are centralized.³ The best type is, perhaps, Jamaica. See above, Chap. VII, and 1914 Report, Appx. (II), p. 115 sq. Many Colonial Records were transmitted by the Governors for the information of the Secretary of State.⁴ Cf. 1914 Report, Appx. (II), p. 116 sq. A report on the records of the West Indies is in preparation for the Carnegie Institution by Professor Herbert Bell.⁵ No permanent records seem to have been preserved by the Crown Agents for the Colonies.⁶ Cf. Miss Penson's description of the records in *Transactions Roy. Hist. Soc.* (4th Ser.), vol. 5, and Miss J. Wright's researches (*ibid.*, vol. 5).

APPENDIX G

TABLES SHOWING

I. THE DEVOLUTION OF THE ENGLISH ARCHIVES

II. THE ARCHIVAL AND DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS OF
HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS IN BRITISH ARCHIVES

APPENDIX

SHOWING THE DEVOLUTIO

The King's (or Lord's) House	Court	Hall	Bench
Royal Household	Council	Parliament	Courts of Justice
Household Offices and Jurisdictions	Council Office	Parliament Office	Courts of Last Resort
Privy Purse and Civil List	Judicial or Administrative Committees	Select Committees	Central Courts of Common Law and Equity
	Cabinet	Statutory Courts, Registries, and Public Departments	Ordinary Courts of Local Jurisdiction
	Cabinet Secretariat	Statutory Authorities Trusts or Institutions	District Registries of the High Court of Justice
		Local Registries and Branches of Public Departments	
	(1) Public Records (Judicial Proceedings, State Papers, and Departmental Records transferred to the Public Record Office)		(2) Archives of Royal Household, Parliament, Courts of Justice, Departments, Judicial or Statutory Offices of Public and Branch Offices of Public (not yet transferred to the Public Record Office)

¹ For details of this Table see *Repertory of British*

TABLE I

THE ENGLISH ARCHIVES ¹

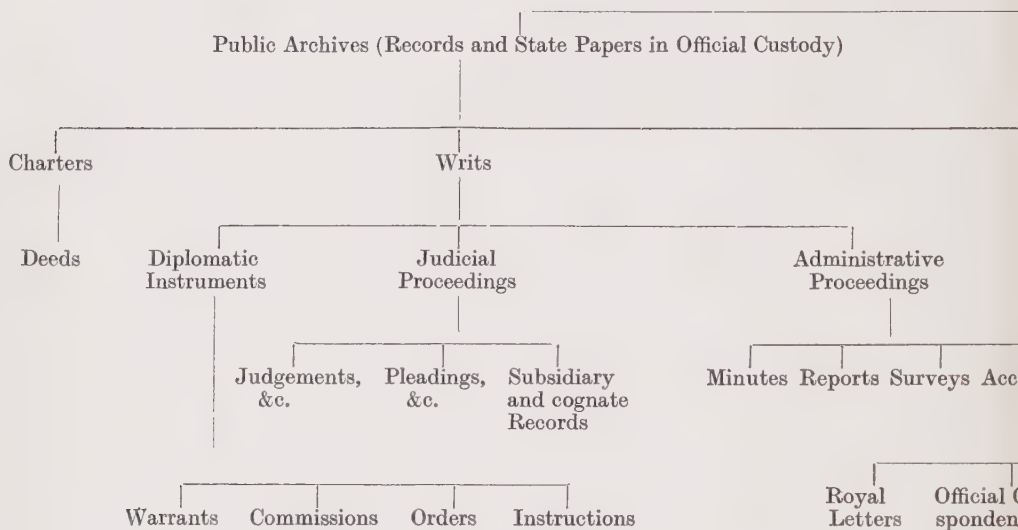
er, Wardrobe, Chapel

uer	Chancery	Palatine, Seignorial, and Communal	Ecclesiastical and Admiralty Jurisdictions
ry	Secretariat	Courts, Exchequers, Chanceries, and Offices of Palatinates, Royal Duchies, Lordships, Manors	Courts of Civil and Canon Law (Ecclesiastical and Admiralty)
Office	Seal Offices and Chancelleries	Inferior or Communal Courts, Councils and Local Authorities of Counties, Towns, Parishes, or Districts	Provincial, Diocesan, and Admiralty Courts and Registries
ie De- nts	Royal Commissions and Departmental Committees		
mental ttees			
uncil, De- istries, ments cord		(3) Archives of Palatine Jurisdictions or Royal Duchies (not yet transferred); Lordships or Manors; County, Municipal, Parochial, District, and Ecclesiastical Authorities, Public Institu- tions, Associations or Private Individuals	

(passim) and *Studies* (Part I and Appendix I).

APPENDIX

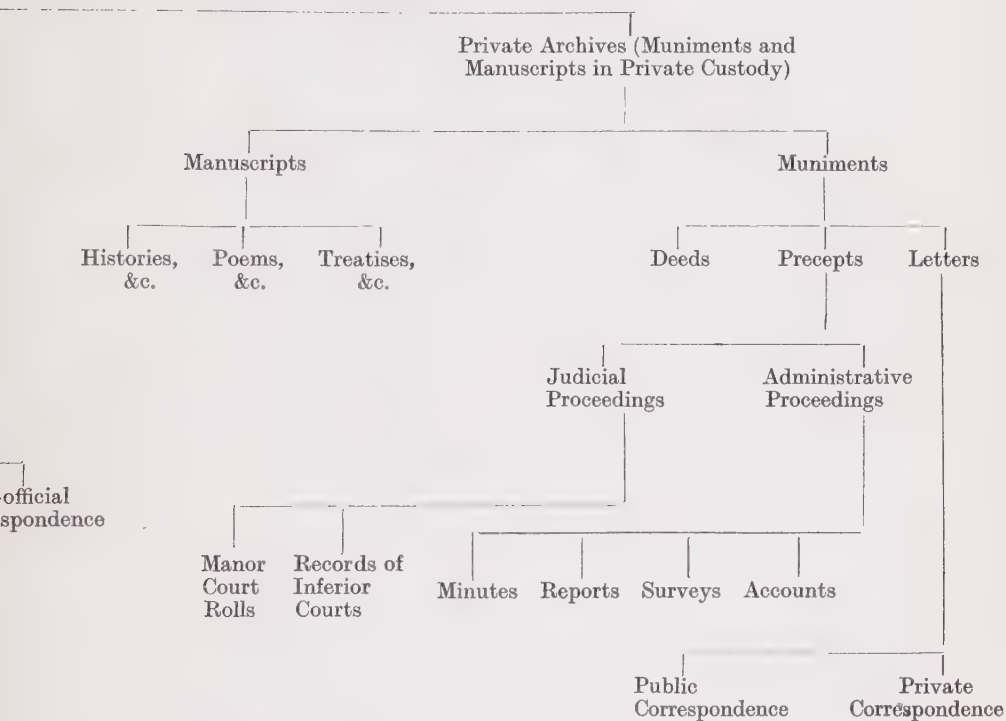
SHOWING THE ARCHIVAL AND DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS



¹ Public and Private Archives both include documents.
For the provenance of the Archives see Table I.

TABLE II

HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS IN BRITISH ARCHIVES ¹



and by various means) which are interchangeable.

APPENDIX H

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON PUBLIC RECORDS (1910-18)

1. RECOMMENDATIONS RELATING TO THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE

THE First Report of the Royal Commission¹ contains some definite recommendations drafted in 1911 with regard to an extension of the Public Record Office; but these were made in aid of the Deputy Keeper's endeavours to obtain sanction for immediate building operations, to relieve the congestion of the records, and in any case the whole position required reconsideration after the War. Other recommendations called attention to such matters as the serious effects of the local smoke nuisance, and urged the need of a more liberal expenditure to meet the requirements of the Record Office for the systematic repair of the records, and the protection of documents and seals by methods long used in foreign archives were also advocated.

The Commissioners were apparently much impressed by the state in which they found certain classes of records still preserved in 'bulk', and they strongly recommended that certain classes of records should be sorted and made accessible.²

The fee system has touched the public interests sharply; and though this is reduced to a narrow compass it is not yet wholly abolished. It was the view of the Commission that bona fide literary inquiries, covering all periods and classes of records, should be exempt, in accordance with the spirit of the Act of 1838³ and the recommendations of the departmental committee of 1908.

In the interests of many students of the literature of the sixteenth

¹ The First Report of the Commission also recommended or suggested many improvements in the internal economy of the search rooms (pp. 20-5) and the preservation and production of the records. Detailed recommendations were also made regarding the printing arrangements; the appointment of record officers and their training; the official publications, and the work of the Committee of Inspecting Officers; with other matters that have been dealt with fully or provisionally since the Report was presented, according to the means that have been placed at the Deputy Keeper's disposal for this purpose.

² 1912 Report, pp. 23, 28; cf. 1914 Report, pp. 89 sq.

³ See under 'Public Access' in the 1912 and 1914 Reports. The present Deputy Keeper took a leading part in the recommendations of the Committee of 1908.

and seventeenth centuries, the Commissioners recommended ¹ that the description of the judicial proceedings of this period should be taken in hand systematically. The inadequate lists of these and of the Departmental Records were the subject of definite recommendations. The Commissioners not only advocated the production of uniform 'Summary Lists',² but suggested that the size of the Calendars might be greatly reduced, to enable progress to be made in bridging the existing gaps in the series.³ These matters were to be placed under the supervision of a Publication Committee on which historians should be invited to act.⁴

An examination ⁵ of the earlier operations of the official Committee for administering the Public Record Office Act of 1877 suggested several improvements in procedure, including the notification as well as the publication of Parliamentary schedules of records selected for destruction, and the presentation of duplicate or subsidiary records to local institutions as a possible alternative to their destruction.

Reference has been previously made to the recommendations dealing with the government of the Public Record Office,⁶ which were repeated in subsequent Reports.

2. RECOMMENDATIONS RELATING TO THE DEPARTMENTAL RECORDS

In its Second Report, issued in 1914, the Royal Commission dealt with the Public Records outside the Public Record Office.⁷ The very existence of this vast mass of official documents, greater than the contents of the Record Office itself, was largely an unknown quantity. The main object of the Report was to provide for the safety of these outlying records and for the transfer of those of early date to the Public Record Office. Some important recommendations were made in this connexion, of which the most interesting are those dealing with the hitherto independent collections in the General Registry Office and Principal Probate Registry, together with the 'non-testamentary' records of the ecclesiastical courts, and the almost forgotten judicial records of the Central Criminal

¹ 1912 Report, pp. 23, 28.

² *Ibid.*, p. 24; cf. 1914 Report, p. 83.

³ 1912 Report, p. 28.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 15-20, and 1914 Report, pp. 67-72.

⁶ Above, p. 238.

⁷ The Second Report contains recommendations for the preservation, description, and production of many interesting classes of outlying Records. The value of some of these new sources has still to be established, but they will be rendered more accessible to students by the provisional descriptions given in this Report. The preparation of official 'Guides' to several of the more important departmental collections was recommended by the Commission, which made special recommendations for their custody and use on the lines of those set out in its First Report.

Court, of the Palatinate and Assize Courts, and of a heterogeneous group of Inferior Courts of Record.¹

The recommendations made in respect of the above, and many other types of records, were necessarily of a desultory nature. It is to be feared that they have been regarded generally as a counsel of perfection. Practical recommendations were, however, made for the safe custody, cleansing, repair, arrangement, and description of the records.² These include suggestions for the transfer of early documents, proper facilities for students, and supervision by the Record Officers, especially in connexion with the disposal of any valueless records.³ A special recommendation was also made for housing outstanding Public Records in departmental or district offices, under the administration of the Public Record Office, rather than in a central or suburban repository.⁴ In an *Interim* Report of the Commission,⁵ prepared in 1917, a new scheme was propounded by which all the centralized Departmental Records of later date than 22 January 1901 were to be transferred to a new State Paper Office, those of an earlier date being transferred to the Public Record Office which would continue to receive accruing judicial records without any limit in respect of date.⁶

3. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE DISPOSAL OF THE WAR RECORDS

The Interim Report above referred to comprised some important Recommendations for the disposal of the War Records. These were to be co-ordinated with the later Departmental Records of later date than the year 1901 in a State Paper Office to be created in proximity to an Imperial War Museum as a Branch Office of the Public Record Office.⁷

The Recommendations of the Commissioners on this subject were based on their investigation of the records of the War Departments, and an account of their proceedings is published in an Appendix to the Report.

4. RECOMMENDATIONS RELATING TO LOCAL RECORDS

The Third and Final Report of the Commission presented in 1919 dealt with Local Records of a public nature. The Recommenda-

¹ 1914 Report, pp. 5-11 and 92-6.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 58-61.

⁵ This *Interim* Report was specially prepared for the information of a Committee of the Cabinet in connexion with the disposal of the War Records.

⁶ 1919 Report, p. 38. Since the date of this report the authorities have had recourse to the old expedient of 'branch record offices' in the form of local repositories.

⁷ Third Report, pp. 38-9, and Appx. (II), Part V.

² 1914 Report, pp. 40-58.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 61-6.

tions made by the Commission in its First and Second Reports for the better custody, repair, arrangement, description, and publication of the Public Records or records of a public nature are referred to generally in the course of its Third Report. In this connexion the recommendations made for constituting a Local Records section of the Public Record Office, and bringing in or supervising certain classes of records (as is already done in Scotland and Ireland) are of special interest to students. The Commissioners again recommended that the earlier records of Public Departments in the provinces should be deposited in local repositories with the like records in the custody of the county, municipal, ecclesiastical, and parochial authorities.¹ These local repositories were to be under the general supervision of the Record Officers, and accessible to students. Fees, when exacted, were to be uniform and moderate. Provision was to be made for the recovery of missing documents, and for the transmission of documents for inspection by local students.²

¹ 1919 Report, pp. 21, 41.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

APPENDIX I

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE BRITISH ARCHIVES

IN the following list the author has included only the titles of a few typical works concerned with the history, nature, or distribution of British Archives to which reference has been made in the present volume or which have been published since it was written. The titles of other works will be found in C. Gross's 'Sources and Literature', in the 'Bibliography of Mediaeval Economic History', 'Repertory of British Archives', and 'Studies in Official Historical Documents' (pp. 100-4) by the author, and in the Appendices to the Reports of the Public Records Commission referred to below. The last-mentioned source includes lists of Parliamentary Papers and foreign Archive publications which have been frequently referred to in the present work. References to Scottish and Irish archives, which did not concern the Royal Commission, and to a few recent periodical publications have been added, and the author has to express his gratitude for permission to make use of articles contributed by him to the *Quarterly*, *Edinburgh*, and *Contemporary Reviews*; to *The Times*, the *Athenaeum*, and *History*, and to the *Transactions* of the Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion and of the Library Association. The titles of various official Reports and of some foreign periodicals devoted to the service of the Archives will be found in the 'Bibliography of Mediaeval Economic History' mentioned above, and in the First Report (1912) and Second Report (1914) of the Royal Commission above referred to.¹

No attempt has been made to indicate the scope of the existing Archive publications, or of prints of departmental records. In this connexion there is urgent need of an adequate Bibliography of Parliamentary Papers and Departmental Prints dealing with historical questions. There is also need of a revised list of the official publications available for purchase by provincial or foreign libraries; for owing to the neglect of a methodical and intelligent system of distribution in the past reference to such publications has become a serious problem of historical research.²

1. BIBLIOGRAPHIES AND LISTS OF SOURCES³

Bulkeley, M. E. Bibliographical Survey of Contemporary Sources for the Economic and Social History of the War. (Carnegie Endowment, 1922.)

Gross, C. Sources and Literature of English History (1915, pp. 77-9, 92-119).

¹ See 1912 Report, Appendix II, p. 164 sq. and 1914 Report, Appendix II, p. 337. The want of an international Year Book of Historical publications is still acutely felt.

² See the recommendations of the Royal Commission of 1910 on this subject (First Report, pp. 30-1, and Appx. (II), pp. 75-104; Second Report, Appx. (II), pp. 304-6). The author has referred elsewhere to the neglect of the Study of Historical Bibliography in this country (cf. p. 295 sq. above).

³ In the body of the work frequently recurring titles are abbreviated, e.g. 'Studies in English Official Historical Documents' (*Studies*); 'First Report of the Royal Commission on Public Records' (1912 Report).

- Hall, H. (and others). Repertory of British Archives (R. Hist. Soc., 1920, pp. xxix-xxxiii, xlvi, 261-2).
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- Botha, C. G. Brief Guide to the Cape Archives (1918); *cf. Trans.*, R. Hist. Soc. (4th Ser.), Vol. III, and *Helps for Students of History* (1921).
- Bulloch, J. M., in Aberdeen University Library Bulletins (1915-23).

¹ A new edition is in preparation. As indicated by the Reports of the Royal Commission, this collection contains some contemporary prints of special interest.

- Channel Islands, *see* Report of Royal Commission on Public Records (1914), Vol. II, Part II, pp. 72-7.
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- Doughty, A. G. On the Dominion Archives of Canada (in *Trans.*, R. Hist. Soc., 3rd Ser., Vol. IX).
- Edwards, E. Libraries and Founders of Libraries (1865).
- Synoptical Tables of the Records of the Realm (1865).
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- Ireland, *see* Gilbert, O'Curry, Record Commission, and Wood.
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¹ For further references see foot-notes to the pages of this work (*passim*).

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